ISLAMIC TEXTILES

MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY UP TO THE MONGOL CONQUEST

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PREFACE

This volume was originally published serially in *Ars Islamica* (Michigan, 1942-51), IX-XVI, commencing during World War II, at a time when communication was not easy, and the compilation itself was actually completed by the late summer of 1939 when I was only 24, that is apart from the section on the Yemen which I thoroughly revised later. Looking at the book again after all those years I can now perceive in it certain faults which greater experience would now make one able to avoid; there are also some errors, slips, and misprints, more particularly in the earlier sections, in part due to the difficult conditions of the war years.

Despite certain criticisms which I should now make of this first study of mine I am pleased to accept the proposal of the Librairie du Liban that it be reprinted, since there is, I think, assembled here a deal of useful data in English which may be handy for reference for other scholars not acquainted with Arabic and Persian, and even for those who are. In over thirty years of reading since 1939 I have naturally accumulated a heap of supplementary material, but my present preoccupations simply do not permit of spending time on additions which would add substantially to the volume. Furthermore such studies as Professor S.D. Goitein's extensive researches on the Cairo Genizah, were the material on textiles incorporated here, would add greatly to the size and scope, while there is much on textiles in the century following the Mongol Conquest in the *Mulakhkhaṣ al-fitan* which Professor C. Cahen and I have been preparing for quite a number of years. There is also the considerable body of work on actual Islamic textiles which such experts as Robert Pfister and many others have achieved since the World War II.

As far as possible simple errors or slips have now been corrected in this reprint. Inconsistent transliterations had already to some extent been taken up in the Indices, but the transliteration is that of *Ars Islamica,* based upon Webster, which imposes certain spellings become conventional, where I should sometimes have preferred a strict transliteration—this leads to a number of inconsistencies in names partly conventionally spelled, partly transliterated. No attempt has been made to substitute newer and often better editions for the older editions of texts which were all that were available to me at the time of writing.

It remains to express my thanks to *Ars Islamica* (now *Ars Orientalia*) for the courteous permission of the editors to re-print this volume, and in particular to re-affirm my gratitude to Dr. Richard Ettinghausen for the great pains he took over my original typescript these twenty or more years ago.

May 1972

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INTRODUCTION

PREVIOUS TO 1914, VON KREMER, MEZ, KARABACEK, AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED GERMAN orientalists had discovered notes on the textiles of early Islam in those texts available at the time and had published them in rather a casual and unsystematic manner; but the far wider range, ever increasing, of texts available in good editions today contains raw materials for research virtually inaccessible to these earlier authorities. In particular one might mention the three manuals of police regulations for petty trading, manufacture, and the maintenance of public morality (Ḥisba), published within the last five years. They display an interest in the social and economic life of the people rare in oriental authors and describe manufacturing processes which literary men ignore.

Much of the material collected by me on Persia has already been set forth in Gaston Wiet's excellent essay, "Une Liste alphabétique des localités de la Perse célèbres comme centres de tissage" in his *L'Exposition persane de 1931*. Though most useful and easy to consult, there were several criticisms that one might make of this method of treatment. The list naturally gives no indication of the groups of cities manufacturing similar types of materials; being a list only, though a very good one, it could not show the interdependence of the manufacturing groups of Persia, Iraq, Egypt, North Africa, Yemen, or Spain, for Persia was treated as a single isolated unit. Nor did the scope of the "Liste" extend to the examination of chronology, the correction of faulty and misleading texts or translations, nor the serious comparison and collation of sources. Nearly all M. Wiet's sources are geographical.

Another excellent article, published by A. Grohmann in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* and its *Supplement*, under the heading "Ṭirāz," contains some of the material on Egypt embodied in this book. The scope of this succinct little article is limited by its very nature, though an astonishing variety of sources has been consulted. In addition to the articles mentioned above, many monographs are to be found scattered throughout the archaeological and art journals which describe finds of Muslim textiles. On the completion of this book that part of the *Survey of Persian Art* containing Phyllis Ackerman's[1] article on Persian textiles had not yet appeared, but most of the sources she mentioned in a footnote, though not all, are listed below.

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[1] "Textiles of the Islamic Periods. A. History" (London and New York, 1938–39), III, 1995–2162, Figs. 644–721, VI, Pls. 981–1106.

During the retyping, I was enabled to consult C. J. Lamm's *Cotton in Mediaeval Textiles.*[2] This very recent publication had not previously been available to me, and there I found more scattered notes with no attempt at a critical examination. A great deal of his material had already been incorporated in my book.

Although some of my material was translated and published during the course of my research itself, a great deal of new information is contained here; the chapters relating to Spain, the Maghreb, Armenia, Transoxiana, and Yemen, besides those on dyers and technical methods, are almost wholly new. Even with regard to the parts of Persia and Egypt already documented by others, I have sometimes been fortunate in obtaining earlier materials of some significance. Critical examination of the texts, too, may have afforded some results.

THE ORIENTAL SOURCES

A few years ago Hasan Muhammad al-Hawary[3] summarized the position of studies in Islamic textiles thus: "L 'étude des tissus islamiques est encore à faire. Cela est dû aux raisons suivantes: *a*). Les auteurs arabes traitèrent peu des industries et des arts, se bornant a décrire les batailles et les révolutions intérieures. *b*). Les tissus datant dès premiers siècles de l'hégire étaient jusqu' à une époque toute récente, très peu nombreux." The position is now greatly changed, and Islamic textiles have become more and more plentiful, though his first assertion holds only too true.

Any references to the great, growing, and ever changing industry of cloth manufactures of the early period are scarce; even during the great *"Blütezeit"* of the caliphate under the Abbasid dynasty the Arab authors make but casual and occasional remarks on the arts. The *Fihrist* does contain the names of books on art, even painting, but these have not been preserved, and, even had they survived they would doubtless all too often be found to consist merely of a series of witticisms vaguely connected with pictures. Consequently, to glean any material whatsoever it is necessary to read a very great many works containing little relevant information, sometimes none. The geographers are, of course, the most accessible and promising hunting ground for scraps and items of interest for reconstructing a social history of Islamic civilization; but even these often curtly dismiss the industries of some great city or are silent concerning them, while treating at length of some unimportant village. Their uncritical attitude to the extracts which they plagiarize without acknowledgment from earlier sources, transferring a section of the text with no regard to the altered conditions of their own times, often deprives what little they have to say of much value.

Historians allude to various textiles by name, but these are few and far between, not at all easy to find in the mass of battle and intrigue. Other incidental notes must be sought in the Adab or polite literature, where elegance in costume and the decrees of the arbiters of taste and fashion are set forth for those aspiring to follow the mode. The manuals of Ḥisba have been spoken of above. Almost anywhere else in the immense field of Arabic and Persian literature the searcher may chance upon observations scattered here and there. Few Persian authors have been consulted in comparison to those who wrote in Arabic.

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[2] Paris, 1937. This book was placed at my disposal through the kindness of Professor Wace, Cambridge.

[3] "Un Tissu abbaside de Perse," *Bull. Instit. d'Égypte,* XVI (1934), 61.

Up to the present the editing of Arabic literature has, in the main, been concerned with the production of a text, as correct as possible, independent of collation with parallel passages in other authors. Consequently, surprising discrepancies are evident in writers who claim to quote the same passage.[4]

MISCELLANEOUS SOURCES

Through lack of time and knowledge I have not been able to utilize the contemporary sources of the earlier period in Europe, but after the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries there is a great wealth of allusion in the works of European travelers to oriental manufactures, which they regarded with some respect. Originally, I had intended to include notes from European accounts of travel in the East, but as most fall outside the period which I finally resolved to cover, 600 A.D. to 1300 A.D., I have for the most part limited myself to oriental sources, while, where it seems relevant, including European authors already examined. Another entire source book could be composed from European accounts of the East alone. A few Chinese and Hebrew authors in translation have been consulted, and there may be some Sanskrit works in translation which might give the names of Islamic textiles or accounts of Islamic cities, but I have not encountered these if they exist.

The history, of course, cannot be complete until every possible source has been examined, but those texts available and most likely to be fruitful of information have been ransacked for any allusions they may contain. To peruse the whole of such immense works as the histories of Ṭabarī and Ibn al-At͟hīr is manifestly impossible but, without reading from cover to cover, notes have been added from both.[5]

IDENTIFICATION OF TEXTILES

Little attempt has been made to identify the stuffs discussed by the authors with those discovered by archaeologists. To do so would be premature, while the study of Islamic textiles is still in its infancy. It is possible that textiles may be found with their type name inscribed on them, as for instance, a barrakān; the Kaaba coverings always had their title, Kiswa, contained in the inscription. Because so many oriental names for types of fabrics are dubious and ambiguous, most (perhaps too many) have been given in transliteration, which is really the only means of consistent identification.

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[4] The comparison of recently published texts with older ones has frequently led me to make emendations or suggestions, superficially rather arbitrary, on the ground that a parallel text has a reading with a more suitable sense.

[5] A few references which came to my notice too late to be inserted in the text find their place in the footnotes. The poet of clothes, Maḥmūd Ḳārī of Yezd, was consulted by me too late to be quoted in this study, but his work contains some names of textiles from towns not mentioned herein; for instance, it mentions Antioch stuffs. If conditions permit my consulting this *Divan,* I may be able to place a list of his stuffs in the "Addenda."

ARRANGEMENT

The mass of material embodied in this history tends to obscure the main trends of cultural movements. In a source book such as this is, prolixity is almost unavoidable. The work has been arranged in a kind of geographical sequence, dealing with the countries in the east and then moving to the western provinces. Ṭirāz and its origins, definition, and history have been dealt with in the first two chapters. The manufactures of Iraq naturally fall into place after those of Baghdad. Each chapter is arranged chronologically, though ṭirāz cities have generally been dealt with at the beginnings of the chapters.

I have given the question of maps much serious thought.[6] Our knowledge of early Muslim geography, more particularly in Egypt, is still rather vague.[7]

The terms "Muslim" and "Islamic" as used here connote a cultural area and not a religious division. The Arab eruption overflowed into the former territories of the Byzantine and Persian empires. It brought the Far East, China and India, into closer contact with the Middle East than it had ever been before, while, in time, the syncretistic Islamic culture spread southward into Africa. The two main ingredients which went to form the eclectic civilization of Islam were the legacies left by Byzantium and the Sasanians. No study of the Arab era which does not examine the state of the people anterior to Islam can be complete, for before the birth of Muhammad great changes had been taking place both in Byzantium and Iran, two strong powers only momentarily physically exhausted from their long struggle with each other. Their cultural influence continued unhindered to mingle in the four hundred years of the Baghdad caliphate. The Umayyad kingdom of Syria must have been a strong patron of Byzantine craftsmen, but even in Baghdad one reads of skilled Roman technicians, usually architects or those learned in the practical application of mechanics.

In the ancient Hellenistic world of Egypt, Syria, and northern Iraq (which recent discoveries have shown to be very strongly under Roman influence), the character of the arts greatly altered in the two or three centuries before Islam. The debased naturalism of late Hellenistic art had been giving way to an abstract and decorative tendency in every sphere, while yet preserving many of the ancient motifs and designs. Coptic art in particular seems to have drawn much of its inspiration from truly eastern sources—from Persia which conquered and held Egypt for some time—and perhaps from the peasant art of the country itself. The extensive and mighty Persian empire, though still continuing to derive cultural elements from Byzantium, had been subtly altering the very nature of its Hellenistic legacy ever since the nationalist Sasanian dynasty had come to power. The silver dishes and the rock reliefs of

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[6] Each "centre de tissage" will be shown if the site can be ascertained.

[7] For Persia and Iraq Le Strange's *Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* is ample, and for Syria, his *Palestine Under the Moslems* contains quite an adequate map. The Maghreb, Spain, and Egypt present more difficulty, but Lévi-Provencal's *Le Peninsule ibérique* has a good sketch map of Muslim Andalus. Maps of North Africa are difficult to obtain, and I used Wüstenfeld's map in *Geschichte der Fatimiden Chalifen*, Cook's *Handbook of Algeria and Tunis*, and the map supplied with the new edition of the *Aghānī* (in Arabic). The only good maps of Egypt are in Youssouf Kamal's series of maps, also in Arabic, of medieval Egypt; they are really very detailed, but, unfortunately, to date only the Delta is completed. Butler's *Arab Conquest* contains a very poor map.

Ṭāḳ-i Bustān and other places, the few relics of a perished culture extending from Central Asia to Asia Minor, display the feeling toward abstract design and multiplication of pattern which was to be adopted by Islam. The movement away from naturalism had commenced quite early, witness the city of Palmyra, the paintings of Dura, and doubtless many another Syrian city. Byzantium was itself half an eastern city, depending largely for its resources of vigorous and energetic manpower on the eastern parts of the empire, Cappadocia and Armenia. In Byzantium, too, the revolt against naturalism, obscurely mingled with religious movements, attained its peak in the reign of Leo the Iconoclast, when the representation of holy personages was forbidden and existing representations were destroyed. The new representational art which emerged is completely foreign in spirit.

In no way did the Arabs affect a process that had started before they appeared on the scene; they had no art of their own to oppose to that of the older peoples. They adopted the manufacturing systems in being under previous rulers; they were so ignorant of all the ways of civilization that perforce, they were led to adopt the fiscal, administrative, and legislative systems already existing; during the Umayyad dynasty they introduced few if any innovations, because they had no experience to enable them to do so. Muslim Hadith embodies many of the principles of Roman law, and, although by the time it was formed into a corpus it had a Muslim framework and cast of thought, borrowing from what already existed, it only half realized what had happened. With regard to textiles, however, all that I am concerned to show is that state factories of stuffs of all kinds, previously under Persian and Byzantine monarchs, were automatically adopted by the Arabs into the administrative system and patronage of the Muslim rulers. The whole of the first chapter has been occupied in tracing the origin of this system and its progress in Umayyad times; the first monarch who can be authoritatively stated to have owned such factories was Hishām.

A common source of new influence on both empires was the district known as Armenia, generally in Byzantine hands, but sometimes held by the Persians as the tide of war swayed to and fro on the uncertain frontier. These cities, it seems probable, were the ultimate source of the new movement in southern Persia and Iraq. The Persian motifs in Coptic textiles may really be Armenian. The Armenian textile industry influenced the cities of the Persian Gulf through the workers transported there by the Sasanians from cities captured from the Romans. The significance of such a movement requires no emphasis and would well accord with Strzygowski's recognition of Armenia as an architectural center with a character of its own influencing to some extent the provinces on its borders. Armenian textiles suddenly cease to be mentioned (except in texts deriving from earlier sources), and this might be attributed to the rise of new industries in other provinces to oust the Armanī, but I venture the theory that the destruction of Armenia by the Seljuks may have ended Armenian pre-eminence in this field.

Great attention has been paid to the ṭirāz factories, for I cannot but think that they were of first importance in the diffusion of new designs, techniques, and fabrics. There was a network of these factories from India to Spain, though not all were under a single monarch. Each petty princeling had a factory, and even today in San'a of the Yemen the imam maintains his own private factories, probably producing materials similar to those of former centuries. Gifts from prince to prince included specimens of these precious stuffs; a catalogue of such a present has been set forth in the chapter on Spain. This country, which has hardly been noticed as a great center of ṭirāz factories by previous students, has, it seems, many indeed, situated in nearly all the larger towns. There are, of course, many fine examples of Moorish cloth from the country, though few are of very early date.

Wherever Jewish craftsmen were mentioned I have made a note of the fact, for their activities were especially concerned with the dyeing of cloth, and they seem to have possessed a knowledge of technical processes, which was their monopoly. Where possible I have consulted Hebrew sources in translation. Many indications of Jewish participation in the textile or dyeing trades might be discovered on a careful perusal of Jewish literature of the period.

A few incidental notes in the main body of this work, and in the appendices have been given in an attempt to sketch the intimate commercial relations with Byzantium, Europe, India, and even China. Valuable information could probably be added from Greek and medieval sources. Chaucer, Froissart, and others, might yield the names of some oriental textiles, but such chroniclers of the Crusades whose works were consulted by me are quite devoid of information on this subject.

The trend of the early Islamic art of the six hundred years of the caliphate was radically altered by the Mongol conquest, and it is fitting that this study should end at that point. It is true that some later authors have been added who lived and wrote after the fall of Baghdad; it would have been a pity not to have included them. The old weaving cities were destroyed by the Mongols, who, unlike the Arabs, spread ruin and desolation wherever they went, depopulating vast provinces, though they generally kept the craftsmen and sent them to their families as useful household slaves. New centers were later founded, perhaps with Chinese craftsmen; this partly accounts for the change in postconquest Persian art and distinguishes its character from that of other Islamic countries.

For more reliable evidence than the statements of travelers, which go to compose the larger part of this structure of conjecture, one will have to await the slow and painstaking evidence of archaeologists. The theory which has been built up around the Armenian textiles may prove to be fallacious, being based on literary manipulation rather than on the evidence of the spade. The aim has been to arrange, classify, criticize, and interpret a mass of historical material, but no claim is laid to finality.[8]

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[8] It is a pleasant duty to acknowledge the kind assistance I have received from various scholars and friends. To my Arabic supervisor, Professor C. A. Storey, I am deeply indebted for careful guidance in research methods, his invaluable criticism, and the advantage of consulting his wide knowledge of Arabic and Persian literature. Professor Wace and Mr. A. W. Lawrence of the Museum of Classical Archaeology were so kind as to put many books (previously unobtainable and sometimes even unknown to me) at my disposal and to allow me to read in the museum. For books or advice I am also indebted to Professor R. A. Nicholson, Professor F. Krenkow, and Dr. R. Levy. To Professor David Talbot Rice I owe my introduction to Islamic art and the encouragement over a number of years to pursue these studies. My fellow research workers, Dr. Quraishi of Delhi University and Dr. M. A. Mu'id Khan, occasionally gave me notes or hints for which I have been grateful. I have the pleasure of thanking Trinity College, Cambridge, in particular, my tutor, Mr. A. S. F. Gow, and Edinburgh University for the financial assistance toward three years of research which made it possible to complete this work, which was written in 1938 and finished by March, 1939. The introduction was revised after I came to Aden in 1940 to study for a year the South Arabian dialects.

CHAPTER I

THE ORIGIN OF THE ṬIRĀZ SYSTEM

A FEATURE OF THE COURTS OF BOTH THE UMAYYAD AND ABBASID DYNASTIES WAS THE LARGE quantity of textiles required there for both clothing and furnishings. An annual gift of clothing was one of the perquisites of the caliphal officers, and was given as a gift of honor to those whom the caliph wished to reward. This gave rise to the institution of those palace factories known as ṭirāz. This term is defined by the *Encyclopaedia of Islām:*

> The word is borrowed from the Persian, and originally means "embroidery"; it then comes to mean a robe adorned with elaborate embroidery, especially one ornamented with embroidered bands with writing on them, worn by a ruler or person of high rank; finally, it means the workshop in which such materials or robes are made. A secondary development from the meaning "embroidered strip of writing" is that of "strip of writing" border, or braid in general, applied not only to the inscriptions, woven, embroidered, or sewn on materials, but also to any inscriptions on a band of any kind whether hewn out of stone, done in mosaic, glass, or faïence, or carved out of wood.[1]

D̲j̲awālīḳī gave the following account of the origin of this word:

> Ṭarz, and ṭirāz. A Persian word arabicized. The Arabs used to employ it in their speech. Ḥassān said (i.e., Ḥassān ibn T̲h̲ābit):
>
> "Light-complexioned, of noble lineage, proud of bearing, of the first ṭirāz."
>
> The Arabs say: "The ṭarz of so-and-so is a fine ṭarz," i.e., his dress and appearance. So that it becomes used of any good thing. Ru'ba said: "I chose of the best of every good thing (ṭarz)."[2]

Thus it appears that the word was known to the Arabs as early as the Prophet himself.

The best general account of the ṭirāz occurs in a fairly late author, Ibn K̲h̲aldūn (1332–1406 A.D.), but some of his statements can be verified from other sources:

> One of the splendors of power and sovereignty, and one of the customs of many dynasties was to inscribe (rasama) their names or certain signs ('alāmāt), which they had adopted specially for themselves, in the borders of garments (t̲h̲awb) designed for their wear, made of silk (ḥarīr) or brocade (dībād̲j̲) or ibrīsm-silk. The writing of the inscription was to be seen in the weave of the warp and woof of the cloth itself, either in thread of gold, or colored thread without gold, different from that of the thread composing that of the garment, according as the workmen decide to arrange and introduce in the process of their weaving. Thus, the royal robes (al-t̲h̲iyāb al-mulūkīya) are bordered (mu'lama) with a ṭirāz. It is an emblem of dignity reserved for the sovereign, for those whom he wishes to honor by authorizing them to make use of it, and for those whom he invests with one of the responsible posts of government. Before Islam, the kings of Persia had placed upon their

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[1] A. Grohmann, "Ṭirāz," *Encycl. Islām* (Leyden, 1934), IV, 785–93; "Addenda" in *Suppl.*, pp. 248–50. This is largely founded on J. von Karabacek, *Zur Orientalischen Altertumskunde*, I. *Die arabischen Papyrusprotokolle, Sitz. Ber. Phil.-Hist. Kl., Akademie, Wien,* Vol. CLXI (1909).

[2] D̲j̲awālīḳī, *Kitāb al-Mu'arrab,* ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1867), p. 102 (ref. from Grohmann, *op. cit.*).

garments, either the portraits (ṣuwar), or likenesses (ashkāl) of the kings of the country, or certain figures and images designated for this use. The Muslim princes substituted their names for the figures, adding other words considered to be of good augury, which gave the praise of God. Under these two dynasties (the Umayyads, and the Abbasids), it was a most important and honorable concern.

The places for the weaving of those stuffs, situated in their palaces, were called dār al-ṭirāz. The officer (ḳā'im) appointed to inspect them was called ṣāḥib al-ṭirāz. His duty was to inspect the workmen, instruments, and weavers (ḥāka) there, and oversee the payment of their stipends (arzāḳ) and the renewal of their instruments; he also inspected their work. The princes entrusted this post to one of the great nobles of the empire or to one of their trusted clients.

It was the same in Spain under the Umayyads, and under the smaller dynasties (mulūk al-ṭawā'if) who succeeded them, as also in Egypt under the 'Ubaidites (Fatimids), and in the East at the courts of the Persian monarchs, their contemporaries. Then when the demand of the courts for luxury of all kinds diminished, as their power diminished in extent, and independent dynasties became numerous, this office fell into desuetude in most dynasties entirely, and consequently, nominations to it.

When, at the beginning of the sixth century, after Umayyads of the West had lost their power, the Almohads founded their empire, in the early period of their domination they did not adopt this institution because they followed the ideal of piety and simplicity that they learned from the Imam Muhammad al-Mahdī ibn Tūmart. For they scrupled to wear silk (ḥarīr) or gold. So thus the office of the inspector of the ṭirāz fell into abeyance at their court. However, in the latter part of this dynasty, their descendants adopted something of this usage, but it did not have the same fame as it had in former times.

In our time we have seen in the West, under the Marīnid dynasty, in all the vigour and pride of its youth, many traces of this usage which it derived from the contemporary dynasty of Ibn al-Aḥmar at Granada (629–897 H. [1231–1491 A.D.]) in Spain, which had imitated the petty dynasties and preserved traces of that ancient institution.

As regards the Turkish dynasty, which, in our days, rules over Egypt and Syria, the use of the ṭirāz there is very fashionable, by reason of the extent of their dominion, and the great civilization of their country. Yet the stuffs are not made in the palaces and castles of those princes, and they have not got at their court officers assigned for that purpose. Whatever requirements of this kind they have, are satisfied by weavers who exercise this profession, in silk (ḥarīr) or in pure gold. They call this stuff zarkash from a name borrowed from the Persian. The name of the sultan or emir is written (raḳama) upon them. The workmen make those like all the other precious objects which are destined for the use of the court.[3]

Thus, Ibn Khaldūn, without quoting any authorities, claims a Persian origin for the ṭirāz. Karabacek and others, however, deem this claim extremely hypothetical and look for an origin in the Coptic-Byzantine factories in Egypt before the Muslim conquest, and actual pieces of cloth from those places with place names inscribed on them have come to light. To counterbalance this archaeological evidence for the Western origin of the ṭirāz inscriptions there is only a post-Islamic legend which seems to imply that textiles could be found inscribed in Persian. This is preserved in the *Murūdj al-Dhahab* by Mas'ūdī (332 H. [943 A.D.]), and it is repeated in Suyūṭī's *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā':*

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[3] Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes historiques*, ed. by M. de Slane (Paris, 1862–68), I, 66.

> It is related on the authority of Abū 'Abbās Muhammad ibn Sahl who said: "I was secretary to 'Attāb ibn 'Attāb, over the Office of Troops al-Shākirīya in the caliphate of al-Muntaṣir. Now I entered one of the upper floors which was carpeted with sūsandjird carpets (bisāṭ), and a couch (misnad) and a prayer carpet (muṣallā), and pillows (wasā'id) of red and blue. Around the large carpet (bisāṭ) were medallions (dārāt) in which there were figures of people and writing in Persian. I was skilled in the reading of Persian, and there, on the right of the prayer carpet was the image of a king with a crown (tādj) on his head. I read the writing: 'This is the picture of Shirūya, the murderer of his father Abrawīz. He reigned six months.' Then I saw various portraits of kings and my eyes alighted on a picture on the left of the prayer carpet, on which was written: 'The picture of Yazīd ibn Walīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik. He reigned six months.' I was surprised at that, and at their happening to be on the right and left of al-Muntaṣir's throne and I said: 'I do not think his power will last more than six months.' And, by Allah, so it was."[4]

Though the actual inscriptions may not originate in Persia, it is very probable that the factory system called ṭirāz, which spread its network over the middle and eastern parts of the Islamic world, had its origin in the state factories of the Sasanian kings. In several Muslim works, such as the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* and Ibn Isfandiyār's *History of Ṭabaristān,* the custom is mentioned of sending with the taxes products for which a particular province is noted. The following passage from Tha'ālibī's *History of the Kings of Persia,* written before 412 H. (1021 A.D.), claims to establish the actual reign in which this custom was innovated, although one might be justified in thinking that the practice was immeasurably older than the Sasanian period; perhaps this only standardized an ancient custom:

> Balāsh (484–88 A.D.) made the inhabitants of each province supply their special products, consisting of objets de vertu (ṭarā'if), and clothing (malābis), etc. He ordered the cost of them to be reckoned as part of the land tax and imposts.[5]

Herein lies the foundation of the network of ṭirāz factories in Persia. This author, too, said Brockelmann, is sometimes more reliable than Ṭabarī himself, for he followed an earlier work in Persian in the preparation of his history. In connection with the organization of industry in pre-Islamic times, the following extract from Christensen is worthy of note:

> Le vāstryōshānsālār est le "directeur de l'impôt foncier." Le nom de vāstryōshānsālār, ou vāstryōshbadh signifie le chef des agriculteurs: c'était sur l'agriculture que pesait surtout l'impôt foncier, et comme la taxe se réglait selon la fertilité et la bonne ou mauvaise culture des cantons, il a sans doute incombé au vāstryōshānsālār de veiller sur la culture de la terre, l'arrosage, etc. Probablement que le vāstryōshānsālār a été à la tête du département des finances. Il est à supposer que non

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[4] Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or,* ed. and trans. by C. A. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. J. B. Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1861–77), VII, 291; Suyūṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā',* trans. by H. S. Jarrett (Calcutta, 1881), p. 373.

[5] Tha'ālibī, *Histoire des rois des perses,* ed. and trans. by H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1900), p. 584.

seulement l'impôt mais aussi la taxe personelle ont été de son ressort; car il porte aussi le titre de hutukshbadh ("chef des artisans") ou préposé à tous ceux qui travaillent manuellement, esclaves, paysans, marchands, etc. Il a dû être, en somme, un ministre des finances doublé d'un ministre de l'agriculture, de l'industrie, et du commerce.[6]

The substantial truth of the assertions of Thaʿālibī is borne out by the fact that, from the earliest conquests, the Arabs frequently took clothing as part of the tax. The prophet accepted the tax of Nadjrān in robes and cuirasses, and this continued down to the time of Rashid. The inhabitants of Egypt (Miṣr) were ordered by the Arabs, as part of their contract, to supply each man with certain articles of clothing. Rūyān and Dunbāwand contracted to pay their tax in money, garments, and vessels. Transoxania sent a tribute to the early Arabs in which silk and garments were included, while Anbār contracted to pay its annual tribute along with a thousand cloaks made in Ḳaṭawān. A biography states that ʿUmar ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, the second caliph, used to sit upon Ḳaṭawān cloaks (ʿabāʾa) made of the flock of wool.[7]

This is again confirmed by an extract from a work entitled the *Djirāb al-Dawla* of a certain Ahmed ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, an extract of which is to be found in Ibn Khaldūn.[8] He listed the taxes in the reign of Ma'mūn and the articles taken along with them to Baghdad:

The Sawād	200 mantles (ḥulla) of Nadjrān
	240 raṭls of terra sigillata (ṭīn al-khatm)
Fars	30,000 bottles of rose water
Kerman	500 pieces of Yemen stuff (matāʿ)
Sind	150 raṭls of Indian aloes wood
Sidjistān	300 muʿaiyan (with circles?)[9] garments
Khurasan	1,000 ingots of silver (var. read. 2,000)
	27,000 garments (thawb) (var. read. matāʿ)
Djurdjān	1,000 pieces of ibrīsm-silk
Ḳūmis	1,000 ingots of silver
Ṭabaristān, Rūyān, and Nehavand	600 pieces of Ṭabarī carpets (ḳiṭʿa fursh)
	200 robes (aksiya)
	500 garments (thiyāb)
	300 napkins (mandīl)
	300 cups (djāmāt)
Gilan	20 robes (aksiya)
Armenia	20 large carpets in relief (busuṭ maḥfūra)[10]
Africa (Ifrīḳīya)	120 large carpets (bisāṭ)

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[6] *L'Iran sous les Sassanides* (Copenhagen-Paris, 1936), p. 117.

[7] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 98, 102, 104 ff., 395; *ibid.*, trans. by F. C. Murgotten (New York, 1924), II, 167; C. H. Becker, *Ibn Jauzī's Manāqib ʿOmar ibn ʿAbd el ʿAzīz* (Leipzig, 1899), p. 31.

[8] *Op. cit.*, I, 364, cf. text pp. 322–23. Cf. G. Zaidan, *Ta'rīkh al-Tamaddun al-Islāmī* (Cairo, 1903), II, 53f and for taxes, pp. 112f.

[9] Reading muʿaiyan for muʿattab. R. Smith's emendation. See Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi'l-Tidjāra," ed. by Ḥasan H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 326–51.

[10] Cf. Zaidan (*op. cit.*), who added 530 raṭls of raḳm! Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]).

Egypt, it is notable, does not send any textiles or pottery, but merely its tax of nearly 3,000,000 dinars. Yemen sent 370,000 dinars, without counting stuffs. An even earlier list than this from Ṭabaristān is preserved by Ibn Isfandiyār. It consists of the tribute which the Ispahbad sent to the Abbasid al-Manṣūr, which was the same as had gone to the Sasanians:

The poll-tax . . . . 1 dirham of gold for each inhabitant
300,000 dirhams, each containing four dangs of white silver
300 bales of green silk carpets and quilts
300 gold-embroidered garments called Rūyānī and lafuradj
The same amount of saffron which is of a kind unequaled in all the world.[11]

A stuff called khusrawānī (meaning "kingly, appertaining to the kings of Persia," etc.) is frequently mentioned by oriental writers of the early Muslim period, and the Kaaba even, was covered with it by some caliphs. What exactly this cloth was, I have not been able to discover, though I suspect that it was a term applied to cloth of the type made in the Sasanian palace factories. Hints at the nature of the design on these Persian textiles are occasionally to be encountered in the sources. Ibn al-Faḳīh,[12] quoting al-Kalbī, wrote (290 H. [903 A.D.]): "Bahrām used to esteem the Arabs and ride the camel. He is to be seen in the pictures which the Persians paint on their pottery (awānī) and draw on their carpets (busuṭ) and mats (fursh), always riding his camel."

Perhaps the following extract from the *Thousand and One Nights*[13] can give a clue to what the Arabs meant by khusrawānī: "They clothed her with ornaments and cloaks (ḥulla) of the clothing of the Sasanian kings (mulūk al-akāsira), including a garment adorned (manḳūsh) with red gold, having pictures of beasts and birds upon it." This kind of cloth was called ṭardwaḥsh by the Fatimid monarchs and the Mamelukes. Again, Mas'ūdī[14] reported that the Emperor Maurice of Byzantium gave Parwīz a thousand pieces of brocade from the treasury (dībādj khazā'inī) woven (mansūdj) with red gold and other colors. This word khazā'inī is used to refer to the cloth in the official warehouses of the Abbasid caliphs.

From the beginning of Muslim domination in Egypt, and probably from long before that, Coptic cloth was imported into the Hejaz, to Mecca and Medina, for Azraḳī said: " 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb covered (literally 'clothed') the Kaaba with Ḳubāṭī (Coptic cloths) from the treasury. He used to write concerning it to Egypt (Miṣr) where it was woven for him, and then 'Uthmān did the same after him. When Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān came, he covered it with two coverings (kiswa), 'Umar's covering of ḳubāṭī, and another of brocade (dībādj)."[15] In a later chapter I have identified those ḳubāṭī stuffs with the materials from the Tinnīs-Damietta group of factories in Egypt, which almost invariably supplied the Kaaba covering, but no indication is given as to the place of origin of the ḳubāṭī here.

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[11] Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān*, trans. by E. G. Browne (Leyden-London, 1905), p. 118.

[12] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje. *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* [=*B. G. A.*] (Leyden, 1885), V, 178.

[13] *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (Beyrouth, 1914), I, 133.

[14] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, II, 220–21.

[15] *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857–61), I, 176 (Azraḳī).

A passage from the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*[16] would supply a date for the existence of the ṭirāz system in this northern Egyptian group of factories as early as the time of 'Umar, for it says:

> D͟jāḥiẓ (150–255 H. [767–869 A.D.]) said: "Umar ibn al-K͟haṭṭāb said that the land of Egypt (Miṣr) at one time produced 4,000,000 dinars, but others assert that it produced 2,000,000 dinars—apart from the recognised number of horses, riding animals, and the fine linen cloth of the ṭirāz (diḳḳ al-ṭuruz)." He further said: "It is well known that cotton pertains to K͟hurasan, and that linen (kattān) pertains to Egypt. The other peoples in various countries have a certain amount of them which does not, however, equal the quantity in those two places. Sometimes the price of a load of the brocade (diḳḳ [17]) of Miṣr, consisting of linen would fetch the price of a hundred thousand dinars."

As was seen, Egypt in the time of Ma'mūn produced 3,000,000 dinars, but the application of the word ṭirāz to the products of so early a date may be an anachronism on the part of D͟jāḥiẓ.

The *Ag͟hānī*[18] uses a phrase of very doubtful significance, which may refer to an inscribed carpet. It states that Ibn Maiyāda had a ladylove who spread out a carpet for him inscribed or quite as likely "striped" and knotted (? firās͟h marḳūm maṭmūm). This poet lived on into the early Islamic period.

Superficially, a far more convincing piece of evidence for the early existence of the ṭirāz system at this period is the historical note in al-Baihaḳī's *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa'l-Masāwī*,[19] which sets a precise date for the change of the ṭirāz inscription from Greek to Arabic. There is evidence to confirm the story that 'Abd al-Malik did innovate a purely Muslim coinage as Baihaḳī asserts; nevertheless, in spite of this, and despite the comparative earliness of this author—of whom very little is known, except that he was still living in the reign of the Caliph al-Muḳtadir bi'llāh (295–320 H. [908–932 A.D.])—it must be kept in mind that he is the only early author to make such an assertion:

> Al-Kisā'ī relates: "I entered the presence of Rashid one day when he was in his audience-hall (īwān), and in front of him lay a great deal of money which had been divided into bags of ten thousand dirhams each, and which he had ordered to be distributed among his special servants. In his hand was a dirham with a glinting inscription, which he was considering. Now he used to converse with me frequently, and he said: 'Do you know who originated this custom of the inscription on gold and silver?' 'Yes, my lord,' I replied. 'It was 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān.' 'What was his reason for doing so?' he said. 'I do not know, apart from the fact that he was the first to institute this inscription,' was my reply. Then he said, 'I shall tell you.
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> 'Paper (ḳirṭās) belonged to the Greeks, and most of the inhabitants of Egypt were Christians following the religion of the emperor, the emperor of the Greeks. The paper was stamped (ṭarraza[20])

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[16] T͟ha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 176. For the revenues of Egypt see Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ, Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, trans. by U. Bouriant and P. Casanova (Paris, 1900–20), p. 283.

[17] Maḳdisī, [Muḳaddasī], *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden 1906), III, 203. Perhaps ṭirāz should be understood as "embroidery" in this passage.

[18] *Kitāb al-Ag͟hānī* (Cairo, 1927), II, 278.

[19] Ed. F. Schwally (Giessen, 1902), p. 498.

[20] Translated "stamp" in accordance with Karabacek's researches in his *Papyrus-Protokolle*.

in Greek with the inscription (ṭirāz) "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."[21] Thus it continued as it had been, during the early period of Islam, until 'Abd al-Malik came to the throne, and noticed it, being of quick perception. One day he was busy when a paper passed under his hands and he looked at the ṭirāz on it and ordered it to be translated into Arabic, which was duly done. It displeased him, and he said: "What a very disagreeable thing it is for the faith and Islam, that this should be stamped on the paper and that it should be borne on the pottery (awānī), and garments (thiyāb), which, both, are made in Egypt, and the other things made in that country, such as curtains (sutūr), etc., which bear the ṭirāz on account of its (Egypt's) extent and abundant wealth. Its inhabitants produce this paper and it is distributed to all regions and countries with a heathen stamp emblazoned on it."

'So he ordered a letter to be written to 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn Marwān, who was governor of Egypt, to cancel the ṭirāz on the garments, paper, and curtains, etc., which used to bear it. He was also to make the manufacturers of paper stamp it with the "Chapter of Unity" (Sura cxii) "God testifies that he is God alone." This is the ṭirāz of the paper only (or specially), unto this day, neither more nor less, nor altered in any way. He wrote to the governors of all regions to cancel all the paper stamped with the Greek stamp in their provinces. and to punish those who were found to have any of it in their possession after the prohibition, with severe chastisement and lengthy imprisonment.

'When the paper with the new stamp was issued and some was taken to Byzantium, the news spread abroad till it reached the emperor, and he had this stamp translated. It displeased and annoyed him so that he went red with anger. He immediately wrote to 'Abd al-Malik. "The manufactures and other articles which bear the ṭirāz belong to Byzantium, and they have continued to be stamped with the Greek ṭirāz until you canceled it. If the caliphs previous to you have acted rightly, you are in error, and if you have acted rightly your predecessors were in the wrong. Choose the alternative you prefer. I am sending you a present worthy of your rank, and I should like you to return to the former ṭirāz on all the precious articles which previously bore it—a requirement, for the fulfilment of which I should be grateful to you."

The story goes on to tell how the caliph refused the emperor's request three times, until he threatened to stamp a phrase containing an imprecation of the prophet on the Byzantine coinage which was used in Muslim countries also, for they lacked a good coinage of their own. 'Abd al-Malik replied by instituting the new coinage mentioned above.

It is strange that the other historians should be silent on this point, and that Ṭabarī and the earlier Balādhurī,[22] though repeating this very story, should all omit to mention fabrics[23] and pottery. Very little reliance, then, must be placed on this passage of Baihaḳī, which smacks more of legend than actual fact.

The first Umayyad known to have ṭirāzī garments was Marwān, probably Marwān II.[24]

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[21] These words seem to be transliterated into Arabic from the Syriac: ܐܒܐ ܘܒܪܐ ܘܪܘܚܐ ܩܕܝܫܐ. Is Baihaḳī utilizing a Syriac source?

[22] Cf. Damīrī, *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān*, trans. by A. S. G. Jayakar (London-Bombay, 1906–8), I, 124f; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 240; *ibid.*, trans by Hitti, I, 383.

[23] Hitti's translation (following Zaidan [*op. cit.*, I, 103; cf. also p. 102 for the article "Ṭirāz"] of ṭawāmīr as "fabrics" seems unjustified in the context, and the word describing where these articles were stamped—at the top (ru'ūs, literally "heads")—could not apply to garments, whereas it fits very well with the sense of paper.

[24] An example bearing his name is quoted by Grohmann, *op. cit.*, p. 792. See also R. Guest and A. F.

Ḳalḳashandī[25] stated that both the Umayyads and the Abbasids had a dār al-ṭirāz at Alexandria, though he did not give any date for this, and the merest hints of its origins in the Umayyad period are given by the historians. Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi stated: "Hishām ibn Ḥassān said, 'I saw on al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī a shirt (khamīṣa) with a border (ʿalam), in which he used to pray, the gift of Maslama ibn ʿAbd al-Malik.' "[26] This is worthy of note because the ṭirāzī garments are often described as "mu ʿlam," and Maslama was responsible for the administration of certain royal factories. The same author noted that Yazīd ibn ʿAbd al-Malik had an officer over the stores (khazā'in) and the treasuries (buyūt al-amwāl).

Masʿūdī[27] almost seems to imply a ṭirāz factory system in the time of Sulaimān (96–99 H. [714–17 A.D.]) for he wrote:

> Sulaimān was a large eater and his appetite exceeded all measure. He used to wear fine robes, and robes of variegated silk (washī). In his day excellent washī was made in Yemen, Kufa, and Alexandria. All the people used to wear washī for their mantles (djubba), cloaks (ardiya), trousers (sarāwīlāt), turbans (ʿamā'im), and hats (ḳalansuwa). Nobody of his household used to enter his presence except in washī; thus it was with his friends, governors, and household. He used to wear it while riding, or in the pulpit (mimbar). None of his servants, even the cook, entered his presence except in washī; for the latter used to come before him wearing washī on his breast, and a long hat (ṭawīla) of washī on his head. He (Sulaimān) even ordered that his shroud should be made of washī.

In later times, there was a ṭirāz in Yemen, but I have not come across any note of such an institution in al-Kufa. It seems unlikely that the caliphs would establish a state factory in so turbulent a city. Though no ṭirāz is mentioned in Damascus until Mameluke times, it seems likely that one would be there under the Umayyads. No inscription is noted on the washī of Sulaimān's court.

Hishām's reign (cf. p. 68) provides surer ground. Masʿūdī[28] claimed:

> Hishām used to be fond of robes (kisā'), and carpets (fursh), and warlike materials, and breast-plates (la'ma) . . . . In his days there were made, striped silk (or silk with inscriptions on it ? al-khazz raḳm) and velvets (ḳuṭuf).

No place of manufacture is given. The word raḳm can bear the sense of "embroidery, striped cloth, or writing," but as this striped cloth was common long before Hishām, it is just possible to understand this word in the sense of "silk with inscriptions on it." This khazz-raḳm was one of the products of Armenia, and it seems likely that it means striped cloth there. Nevertheless, the introduction of the ṭirāz inscription would agree very well with what is known of the character of Hishām, who was a great builder, interested in the improvement of the land, besides being a man of fashion, for Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi[29] said that nobody was fonder of dress than was Hishām. On a pilgrimage it took six hundred camels to carry his robes.

Kendrick, "The Earliest Dated Islamic Textiles," *Burlington Mag.*, LX (1932), 185–91, Figs. B, C.

[25] Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* (Cairo, 1331– 8 H. [1913–19 A.D.]), IV, 7.

[26] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *Al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), I, 103; II, 336.

[27] *Op. cit.*, V, 400.

[28] Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, V, 466. Cf. Chapter II of this investigation. See also J. von Karabaček, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird* (Leipzig, 1881), which also derives the sense of "writing" from raḳm here.

[29] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, II, 338.

Of Walīd II, the *Aghānī*[30] says: "Walīd used to be brought clean white garments, consisting of caliphal garments (thiyāb al-khilāfa) and pray a good prayer in them." The term used is applied in later times to those garments with the ṭirāz border which were part of the insignia of the caliphate.[31]

On the fall of the Umayyad dynasty, the Abbasids took over most of their existing institutions, such as the dār al-ṣabbāghīn—perhaps some such factory, in Ramla, which had been founded by the Caliph Sulaimān.[32]

[30] *Aghānī,* VII, 83.

[31] Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.,* III, 274: "One of the insignia of the caliphate consists of thiyāb al-khilāfa."

[32] See Chapter XIV of this investigation.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

Another Sasanian textile, a carpet which the Arabs took as spoil, is described in Ṭabarī (*Annales,* ed. M. J. de Goeje [Leyden, 1879–1901], Ser. I, V, 2453 [year 16]). Maḳrīzī gave the following particulars of Hishām ibn 'Abd al-Malik: "Ce Khalife se fit faire des vêtements brodés à sa taille; il en fit tellement faire, qu'il fallut sept cents chameaux pour transporter ceux qu'il choisit. Cette charge était composée des habits dont il se revêtit, mais combien y en avait-il qu'il ne portait pas!" ("Histoire d'Égypte de Makrizi," trans. by E. Blochet, *Revue de l'Orient Latin,* VIII [1900–1901], 175).

Djahshiyārī stated: "One of his (Hishām's) scribes was Tadharī b. Asṭīn, the Christian whom he invested with the government of Ḥimṣ. Djunnāda b. Abī Khālid used to be his secretary for the ṭirāz factories and his name is to be found on the Hāshimī fabrics" (*Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* [Cairo, 1938], p. 60. For Hāshimī boots see Appendix I).

Tha'ālibī gave a rather apocryphal account of Abarwīz and his page to whom the monarch said: "What are the softest garments?" He replied "In spring, the Shahidjānī (Mervian), and Dabīḳī kinds, and, as for summer, the Tawwazī and Shaṭawī, and for autumn, the munaiyar (stuff with a double woof or weft, or striped stuff) of Rayy, and the mulḥam (see Chapter II) of Merv, and, for winter, khazz-silk, and furs (ḥawṣal), and, in extreme cold, silk lined with silk (khazz) between which is ḳazz-silk." He said, "Tell me of the best and softest of carpets (fursh)." He replied, "They are mattresses (bardha') of brocade stuffed with feathers, placed one on top of the other" (*Histoire des rois des perses,* p. 710).

This passage is indicative of the fashion about 412 H. (1021 A.D.) for, according to Christensen, this is not to be found in the Pahlavi version.

CHAPTER II

Part 1

THE ṬIRĀZ UNDER THE ABBASIDS

BAGHDAD, OF COURSE, WAS THE GREAT CENTER OF ISLAMIC MANUFACTURES, QUICKLY RISING to prominence after its foundation by al-Manṣūr in 145 H. (762 A.D.). Though the capital was famous for its textiles, the royal factories there seem scarcely to have been noticed by Arab authors, despite the fact that they must have been extensive. The court required the products not only of the Baghdad factory, but also those of the factories of Fars and Khuzistan as well as of many other places in Persia, to say nothing of the Egyptian group. The *Aghānī* constantly alludes to gifts of robes of honor (khil'a) from the caliph to his favorites, yet the site of a ṭirāz is known only from so late an author as Ibn al-Djawzī.

The earliest ṭirāz factories were probably in the Round City built by al-Manṣūr, which continued to be the seat of government down to the reign of Rashid (170–93 H. [786–809 A.D.]). Ibn al-Balkhī [1] stated that "Abū 'l-'Abbās left four shirts (ḳamīṣ), and five pairs of trousers (sarāwīlāt), four ṭailasāns (mantle, scarf, or hood), and three silk miṭraf-robes[2] (maṭārif khazz)," but Manṣūr left great wealth. The following extract from Ibn Khaldūn is suggestive of a factory, or at least, a store in the palace:

> Now this son of his, al-Mahdī, the father of Rashid, came to him when he was in his majlis one day, consulting his tailors (khaiyāṭ) about the mending of the torn garments of his household, for he used to avoid providing his family with new clothes at the expense of the treasury. Al-Mahdī disliked this and said: "Oh Commander of the Faithful, I shall bear the expense of the clothing of this household for the year, from my own pension." Manṣūr replied: "Very well," nor did he stop him from doing so, for he did not permit that any of the property of the Muslims should be used to defray the expenses thereon.[3]

By the time of Harun al-Rashid, the system was well organized as may be concluded from the following passage extracted from the *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'* of al-Djahshiyārī (ob. 331 H. [942 A.D.[4]]): "Rashid used to call Dja'far 'my brother,' and share his robe with him. He invested him with the post (barīd) of the provinces, and the mints (dūr al-ḍarb), and the ṭirāz factories (dūr al-ṭuruz) in all the provinces." The honor of this post may have been all the greater because of the lucrative perquisites attached to it. According to the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba*[5] it was Rashid who invented the measure for cloth known as the dhirā' al-Sawād,[6] which was the length of the forearm of a negro slave. Mas'ūdī,[7] however, in the *Murūdj al-Dhahab* called it the "black cubit" (dhirā' aswad) and said: "Thus is named the dhirā' established by al-Ma'mūn for the measuring of cloths, houses, and timber. It is composed of twenty-four fingers (iṣba')." However, this suits the character of Rashid better than that of Ma'mūn, for, according to Balādhurī,[8] Harun established industries in the frontier and coastal cities.

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[1] Al-Balkhī, *Livre de la création et de l'histoire*, ed. and trans. by C. Huart (Paris, 1899), VI, 89. See also *Aghānī* (Bulaq, 1285 H. [1868 A.D.]), IX, 121. Manṣūr introduced long ḳalansuwa caps, and the wearing of black silk. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), Ser. III, I, 417–18.

[2] Miṭraf, a mantle. See R. Levy, "Notes on Costume from Arabic Sources," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1935, pp. 322–23.

[3] [Ibn Khaldūn], *A Selection from the Prologomena of Ibn Khaldūn*, ed. D. B. Macdonald, *Semitic Study Ser.*, No. IV (Leyden, 1905), 17ff.

[4] Photostat of this work, ed. H. von Mzik, p. 249.

[5] Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1938), n.s., XII, Nos. 115–16.

[6] The Sawād here probably means Iraq in general.

Already in Harun's time, too, inscriptions other than those of a purely official nature were being embroidered on garments, for Ibn Khallikān said:

> Abu 'l-'Atāhiya, having obtained the permission to offer a present to the caliph on the festival of Nairūz (New Year) and Mihradjān, brought him on one of those anniversaries, an ample vase (barnīya) containing a perfumed garment (thawb) of delicate texture, on the borders (ḥawāshī) of which he had inscribed the verses just given. On this, the caliph had some intention of bestowing 'Utba upon him, but she recoiled with dislike, and exclaimed: "Commander of the Faithful, treat me as becomes a female and a member of your household. Would you give me up to an ugly man who sells jars, and gains his livelihood by verses?"[9]

Another work supplies information about the position of the ṭirāz during the reigns of his sons Amīn and Ma'mūn, between whom and another brother, al-Ḳāsim, Harun divided the empire. He had a contract drawn up between the two brothers and himself to settle the division of power among them, and Amīn acknowledged Ma'mūn as "governor of the frontiers of Khurasan, its towns and districts, with control of the taxes (ṣadaḳāt), the tithing, and the tithes, the Post (barīd), and the ṭirāz factories" (ṭuruz).[10] Ma'mūn's power extended over

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[7] Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), I, 183.

[8] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 163; *ibid.*, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 252. For an allusion to the ṭirāz in the reign of al-Hādī see C. van Arendonk, *De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen* (Leyden, 1919), p. 196.

[9] *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, trans. by M. de Slane (Paris-London, 1843–71), I, 203, following Mubarrad's *Kāmil*. Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Djamāhir*, ed. F. Krenkow (Hyderabad, 1938), p. 58, illustrates the luxury of the Abbasid court in Harun al-Rashid's reign. He quotes a poet: " 'The world is nothing if women rule it. Should they rule a single day, then farewell (salām) to the world.' If you desire a proof of his veracity, then cite such women as Zubaida (the wife of Harun), praiseworthy for most of her good qualities, and her rosary of pomegranate jacinths (Rummānī yāḳūt) like nuts, strung together like the slices of a melon. If any one of them were to be found today, they would easily be recognized to have belonged to her. Think of the pearls pierced with cross-shaped holes (taṣlīb) so that she might have garments made with them for her maids."

Since the above page was written, I have found another passage in Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbā'*, ed. A. Müller (Cairo, 1299 H. [1882 A.D.], Preface, Königsberg, 1884), I, 136, which says that every year in Muharram, the physician Bakhtīshū' ibn Djibrā'īl used to receive, in addition to other gifts at different times of the year: Royal ṭirāzī gold-spangled linen cloth (al-ḳaṣab al-khāṣṣ al-ṭirāzī), 20 pieces (shiḳḳa); ṭirāz cloth with a warp of silk, and a woof of some other material (al-mulḥam al-ṭirāzī), 20 pieces (shiḳḳa); silk of Manṣūr (the caliph) (al-khazz al-Manṣūrī), 10 pieces; stretched silk (? al-khazz al-mabsūṭ—or carpet silk ?) 10 pieces; Yemen figured silk (al-washī al-Yamānī), 3 robes (thawb); figured naṣībī stuff (al-washī al-naṣībī), 3 robes (thawb); ṭailasāns (head scarves), 3 ṭailasāns; he also received sable (sammūr), marten (fanak), ḳ maḳ m (ermine), stoat (dalaḳ), and squirrel (sindjāb) furs.

This physician served Harun al-Rashid for twenty-three years, and the author amused himself by calculating the immense amount of clothing he received.

[10] *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857–61), pp. 166 and 162 (Azraḳī); Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-Ẓāhira*, ed. T. W. J. Juynboll and B. F. Mattes (Leyden, 1855–61), I, 544.

Persia and the East, which indicates that there were factories there in Rashid's time at least.

Again, Taghrībirdī[11] said: "In the year 194 H. (809–10 A.D.), in the first Rabī', Amīn proclaimed his son Mūsā heir-apparent . . . . he nominated as his vizier Ali ibn 'Īsā ibn Māhān. Al-Ma'mūn, when he heard of the deposition of al-Ḳāsim from the regency of the frontiers, had postal communication with Amīn broken off, and ceased to inscribe his name on the ṭirāz, and the coinage." The same information is in al-Balkhī's *Kitāb al-Bad' wa'l-Ta'rīkh,*[12] which says that Ma'mūn cast out the name of Amīn from the "ṭirāz, the dirhams, and the dinars." Of Ma'mūn, too, the *Ta'rīkh-i Baihaḳī*[13] reports: "Ma'mūn made him (Riḍā, the Alī-ide) heir apparent, and abandoned the black banners ('alam), using green instead. They inscribed the name of Riḍā' on the dinars, dirhams, and the ṭirāz of robes (djāma)."

According to the *Čahār Maḳāla,*[14] Ma'mūn, when preparing to visit Būrān on their wedding day would not wear a robe (ḳabā') of Ma'danī[15] satin (aṭlas), nor royal satin (malikī), nor ṭamīm (a kind of precious brocade stuff[16]), nor nasīdj (woven stuff), nor mumazzadj (a garment mingled with gold and inscribed with a name[17]), nor miḳrāḍī (cut, slashed, or shorn?) stuff,[18] nor satin (aksūn), but decided to wear a robe of plain black.

Of the Caliph al-Mutawakkil (232–47 H. [847–61 A.D.]), Mas'ūdī stated:

> He wore garments called thiyāb mulḥama (a stuff with a warp of silk, but a woof of some other material[19]), which he preferred to all other stuffs, and this fashion was followed by all the members of his household and then spread among the people. Everyone wished to imitate the sovereign, so the stuffs of that weave reached high prices, and the manufacture was perfected so as to respond to the fashion and to satisfy the taste of the prince and his subjects. In our own time (*ca.* 332 H. [943 A.D.]) some of these stuffs are found; they are known under the name of Mutawakkilī. It is a kind of cloth of a very beautiful weave (thiyāb al-mulḥama), and of an excellent color (ṣibgh).[20]

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[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 551–52.

[12] Al-Balkhī, *op. cit.*, text, VI, 108.

[13] *Ta'rīkh-i-Baihaḳī* (Calcutta, 1862), p. 161 (ref. from Karabacek).

[14] Niẓāmī 'Arūḍī, *Čahār Maḳāla,* ed. Mirzā Muhammad Ḳazwīnī, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1910), XI, 110; *ibid.*, trans. by E. G. Browne (London, 1921), pp. 20 and notes.

[15] Maḳrīzī, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte,* trans. by M. Quatremère (Paris, 1837–45), II, 33. He derives it from a place in Armenia, Ma'dan. Another suggestion is that 'Adanī (from Aden) should be read. The name ma'danī, however, occurs too frequently to be rejected.

[16] A. von Kremer, *Beiträge zur arabischen Lexikographie, Sitz. Ber. Phil.-Hist. Kl., Akad. Wien,* CV (1884), 438: "Eine Art kostbaren Kleiderstoffes, Goldbrokat." Cf. Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 410, l. 12.

[17] R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed; Paris, 1927), II, 587. N. de Khanikof, "Mémoire sur Khâcâni," *Journ. asiatique,* sixième sér., V (1865), 348, where an alternative from mamzūdj is given (twelfth cent.). Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon,* ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leyden, 1851–76), XII, 154, mentioned: "Twelve thousand garments (thawb) of mumazzadj, interwoven with gold." See *infra.* Mustarshid billāh.

[18] The notes of the *Čahār Maḳāla* (p. 110) quote Māfarrūkhī (Brit. Mus. Or. 3601, fol. 38b): "He said in his final injunctions: 'Make my shroud (akfān) of Rūmī miḳrāḍī cloth, and a gold turban of ḳaṣab and a garment (thawb) of Egyptian Dabīḳī.' He was told that only white cotton garments were good for shrouds, but he said: 'God forbid! I have mixed with his creatures for sixty years and I have always associated with them in brocade (dībādj), silk (ḥarīr), and ḳaṣab.' "

[19] Dozy, *op. cit.*, II, 522, and *idem, Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), p. 60.

[20] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, VII, 190.

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, too, used the term Mutawakkilī to describe a very fine kind of garment:

> . . . . [a] towel of light Mutawakkilī Dabīḳī, embroidered with a ṭirāz border, with a velvet-like pile (mukhmal), made in Egypt, with two badges (?'alam), and two bands (zunnār) and their patterns of fine thread, of perfect length, exquisite width, with a short pile, bordered with a fringed (?) border (ḥāshiya mashkūka), softer than ḳazz-silk and finer than floss-silk (khazz).[21]

Presumably, the mulḥam stuffs were made in the palace factories of Baghdad or Samarra, if there were any there, and that is extremely likely, for al-Mu'taṣim, when he built the city, brought craftsmen there from all quarters. Even in Ma'mūn's day these stuffs of mixed materials were well known, for a courtier said:

> Poetry is a carpet (bisāṭ) of wool (ṣūf) and when goat hair (sha'r) is mixed with pure wool, its beauty is evident through the combination, and its luster through the composition.[22]

After al-Mutawakkil (ob. 247 H. [861 A.D.]), there followed a period of anarchy in which four caliphs succeeded one another in quick succession. In 256 H. (870 A.D.) in Mu'tamid's reign there are again notices on ṭirāz. He was dominated by his more vigorous brother, al-Muwaffaḳ, who fell out with the semi-independent governor of Egypt, Ibn Ṭūlūn. When Muwaffaḳ foiled a plot of Ahmed ibn Ṭūlūn to free the caliph from his overzealous control, the Egyptian, by way of venting his spite on Muwaffaḳ, revenged himself, according to Ibn al-Athīr, in the following way:

> In the year 269 H. (882–83 A.D.), al-Mu'tamid (the puppet caliph) cursed Aḥmed ibn Ṭūlūn at the Public Audience (dār al-'āmma) and ordered this curse to be pronounced on the pulpits . . . . for Ibn Ṭūlūn had stopped the name of al-Muwaffaḳ from being mentioned in the prayer (khuṭba), and dropped the inscription of his name from the ṭirāz.[23]

The same item of information is to be found in a curtailed form in Abu 'l-Fidā'.[24] Ibn al-Athīr said further:

> [In Muharram of 279 H. (892 A.D.), Mu'tamid] made al-Mu'taḍid bi'llāh Abu 'l-'Abbās Ahmed ibn al-Muwaffaḳ heir-apparent, and they (the nobles) bore witness that he (Mu'tamid's son) was deprived of the succession. He dropped his name from the coinage, prayer, and the ṭirāz-inscriptions.[25]

The importance of the ṭirāz as one of the insignia of power is clearly shown by the above passages.[26]

A further passage, referring to the energetic al-Muwaffaḳ, which shows the extent of the ṭirāz organization, is to be found in Ibn Ṭiḳṭaḳā's *al-Fakhrī*, which gives the following account of the vizier al-Hasan ibn Makhlad with Muwaffaḳ. The vizier said:

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[21] Abu'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi'l-Ḳāsim*, ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 42. See also Chapter XVI. For the exports of Dabīḳī to Iraq in 517 H. see Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1853), I, 472.

[22] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, VII, 7.

[23] Ibn al-Athīr, *Ta'rīkh* (Bulaq, 1290 H.), VII, 143 (ref. from Hasan Hawary).

[24] Abu'l-Fidā', *Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Istanbul, 1286), II, 56 (ref. from Hasan Hawary).

[25] Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, VII, 161–62.

[26] The *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe*, ed. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet (Cairo, 1931), II, 212, 232, 248–53 confirms the above.

> Once I was in the presence of Muwaffaḳ, the son of al-Mutawakkil, and I saw him feel a garment over with his hand, then he said to me: "Hasan, this stuff pleases me. How much have we in the stores (khazā'in)?" Thereupon I brought out of my boot a little roll (dastūr) in which was set forth the total of goods and stuffs in the stores, given in detail. Therein I found 6,000 pieces of this kind of stuff. "Hasan," said al-Muwaffaḳ to me, "we have nothing to wear. Write to the country (of origin) to make 30,000 pieces of this kind of fabric, and to send them with the least possible delay.[27]

The action of Ibn Ṭūlūn, in casting out the name of al-Muwaffaḳ from the ṭirāz inscriptions had important consequences. This was a slight which could not be ignored at Baghdad. The trouble must have come to a head when the time came for the Kaaba covering to be woven, which usually took place in Egypt. Muwaffaḳ could not afford to allow his prestige to suffer by sending a Kaaba covering which did not bear his name, for the ṭirāz was, in its way, a kind of propaganda for the ruling dynasty. Iṣṭakhrī [28] (340 H. [951 A.D.]) reported that in this time the Kaaba covering was made at Shustar. Thus, it seems feasible to suppose that it began to be manufactured in the East some time about the year 270 H. (883 A.D.). This, however, is purest conjecture, for in 290 H. (903 A.D.) Egypt was recovered by the Caliph al-Muḳtafī.

Another work with the title of *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, composed by a certain al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi' (359–448 H. [969–1056 A.D.]), gives a very full account of the expenditure on the palace factories, in which the sum spent on ṭirāzī stuffs seems to have been but one item. So far as I have been able to ascertain, there were very few royal factories for materials, apart from arsenals and paper factories, in any other cities. The manufactures enumerated in the list could only be carried on around a wealthy and luxurious court, and so they were probably only to be found in such cities as Baghdad and Cairo.

When the brothers Ibn Furāt, Ahmed, who was the superior until he died in 291 H. (903–4 A.D.), and Ali, who followed him, made out the budget for the imperial expenditure, they allotted the revenue as follows:

> The maintenance of the employees whose month is fifty days, consisting of those engaged to work in the public supply magazine (sharāb al-'āmma), and in the clothing magazines (khazā'in al-kiswa), and the craftsmen, comprising goldsmiths (ṣāgha), tailors (khaiyāṭ), fullers (ḳaṣṣār), blacksmiths (asākifa, which may also mean shoemakers, carpenters, or just artisans), ironworkers (ḥaddād), menders (raffā'), furriers (farrā'), makers of ṭirāz (muṭarriz), upholsterers (nadjdjād), papermakers (warrāḳ), perfumers ('aṭṭār), makers of the borders of robes (mushahhir),[29] carpenters (nadjdjār), glass cutters (kharrāṭ), makers of chests (asfāṭī), etc. This is in addition to the keepers (khuzzān), and artificers employed in the arsenal (khizāna al-silāḥ), and the saddlery store (khizāna al-surūdj) in the same. Each store and section has a separate check drawn on the divan, in all, three thousand dinars a month, that is to say, a hundred dinars a day.[30]

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[27] Ibn al-Ṭiḳṭaḳā, *al-Fakhrī, Geschichte der islamischen Reiche* . . . ., ed. W. Ahlwardt (Gotha, 1860), p. 298; *ibid.*, trans. by E. Amar, *Archives marocaines*, XVI (Paris, 1910), 436–37 (ref. from Hasan Hawary).

[28] See Chapter IV of this investigation. The disparity in dates is not so great as it might seem, for Iṣṭakhrī probably based these statements on earlier sources.

[29] Dozy, *Supplément* . . . ., I, 796.

[30] Al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Leyden, 1904), p. 17. See also A. von Kremer, "Das Einnahmebudget des Abbasidenreiches vom Jahre 306 H. (918–19 A.D.)," *Denkschriften d. phil. hist. Klasse d. Kais. Akad d. Wiss. in Wien*, Bd. XXXVI (1887).

It will be noted that these expenses are concerned solely with the upkeep of the Baghdad factories. As will be seen below, in the provinces the ṭirāz was controlled by being farmed out to private individuals; this naturally led to great abuses, for the weavers seem to have had a kind of corvée imposed upon them. The sum spent on maintenance (arzāḳ) is very large, amounting to 36,000 dinars per annum. This should be compared with the 10 per cent tax which Abu 'l-Fatḥ Rāzī attempted unsuccessfully to impose upon silk and cotton cloth in Baghdad, estimated to bring in 1,000,000 dirhams—say 100,000 dinars, making the value of annual income 1,000,000 dinars. If wages are considered, this sum seems even more magnificent, for Tanūkhī[31] remarked that a glass cutter who learned grammar from al-Mubarrad (ob. 285 H. [998 A.D.]), a contemporary of the Ibn Furāt brothers, earned a dirham and a third to a dirham and a half a day at his trade. If the workmen of the ṭirāz were slaves, or harem girls, only supplied with provisions in kind, as the term might well imply, the number of people employed there must have been even greater than that calculated on the basis of the glass cutters' wages.

Again, al-Hilāl said:

> The cost of the allowances (waẓā'if) for the private supply magazine (sharāb al-khāṣṣa), and the public supply magazine (sharāb al-'āmma), with the furnishings pertaining thereto, and the expenses of the stores (khazā'in) of clothing (kiswa), the robes of honor (khil'a), perfumes (ṭīb), the requirements for the ablution and the bath, the expenditure on the arsenals (khazā'in al-silāḥ), and those breastplates (djawāshin) and mail-coats (durū') which are worn out, and the arrows (nushshāb), standards ('alam), and spears (miṭrad) made there, and the expenditure on the saddlery stores with the renewals and repairs to them (i.e., the saddles), the expenditure on the carpet stores (khazā'in al-fursh),[32] the cost of the coarse cloth (khaish)of flax, brocades (dubudj), the wages of porters and servants of the throne, etc., as is fully specified in the office of expenditure, (those who spend it and are maintained by it, being in charge of the expenditure of it), is in all three thousand dinars a month, that is to say, a hundred dinars per day.[33]

Ḳalḳashandī also described the organization of the royal wardrobe in Baghdad. After referring to the great library of more than one hundred thousand books which belonged to the caliphs, among the other palace offices he mentioned:

> The khizāna al-kiswa which is really made up of two wardrobes (or stores, khazā'in), one of which is called al-khizāna al-ẓāhira, which we express in our time, as al-khizāna al-kubrā, as it was in ancient times, and that expressed by khizāna al-khāṣṣ which has remained into modern times. There were in it stores of colored brocades (dībādj mulawwan) of various kinds, and royal dabīḳī sharbcloth (al-sharb al-khāṣṣ al-Dabīḳī), scarlet (siḳlāṭūn) and other kinds of splendid stuffs (ḳumāsh)

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[31] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth, Oriental Trans. Fund (London, 1921), text, p. 134, trans., p. 147. See also E. von Zambaur, "Dīnār," *Encycl. Islām* (Leyden-London, 1913–38), I, 975–76; *idem*, "Dirham," *Encycl. Islām*, I, 978–79.

[32] For Fursh al-Khilāfa see Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II, 967; Tanūkhī (*op. cit.*, text, p. 149) noticed in the audience chamber of Muṭī' a large yellow caliphal carpet (ṭinfisa khalīfīya) of "khazz wa-raḳm" (striped silk ?). Perhaps "khazz raḳm" should be read.

[33] Al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *op. cit.*, p. 16.

which display the glory of empire. To it were brought the royal requisitions (musta'malāt al-khāṣṣ) which are made in the dār al-ṭirāz in Tinnīs and Damietta and Alexandria. In it were cut out the caliphal robes (libās al-khilāfa) which were ordered, and the robes of honor (khil'a), and those given as presents (tashrīf), etc. The second was a place for the preparation of the caliphal robes only and is expressed in our time by ṭashtkhāna. To it was brought the caliphal cloth cut out in the first wardrobe.[34]

In the year 305 H. (917 A.D.), al-Muḳtadir received the Byzantine ambassador in his palace. As he wished to make a great impression on this envoy, a splendid display was arranged there. An Arab author has left a list of the kinds of cloth used there with names indicating the various countries of origin. Though drawn from a variety of sources, they seem mainly to have come from ṭirāz cities:

> The number of gold curtains of brocade (dībādj) with magnificent gold embroideries (ṭirāz), with figures of cups (djāmāt), elephants, horses, camels, wild beasts, and birds, and large Baṣinnā, Armenian, Wāsiṭ, and Bahnasā curtains, plain (sādhidj), or with drawings (? or colored, manḳūsh), and Dabīḳī with the ṭirāz which were suspended in the castles of the Commander of the Faithful al-Muḳtadir bi'llāh, consisted of 38,000 curtains, of which the aforementioned gold curtains of brocade made up the number of 12,000. The number of carpets (busuṭ), and strips (ankhākh) of Djahram and Dārābdjird and Dawraḳ in the passages and in the courts, on which the generals and envoys of the emperor of Rūm trod, from the New Public Gate to the presence of al-Muḳtadir bi'llāh, not counting the Ṭabarī and Dabīḳī carpets (anmāṭ) which were under them, in the private rooms and in the assembly rooms, for display, and not to be trodden upon, came to 22,000 pieces.[35]

These stuffs with the designs of elephants were not uncommon for Suyūṭī[36] in 575 H. (1180 A.D.) mentions a coverlet or mantle (duwādj) with the pictures (ṣūra) of elephants upon it. Reath and Sachs[37] show an example of such a design from Khurasan, which also bears a ṭirāz inscription.

The custom of distributing clothing as an annual present to servants in lieu of, or as part of, wages (a system which persisted in Persia until at least before the war of 1914–18), was not confined to the caliphs, but seems to have been general among the great nobles. Al-Ṣāḥib Ismā'īl ibn 'Abbād (ob. 387 H. [997 A.D.]), in one winter, gave to his servants 820 turbans ('amā'im) of khazz-silk: "He liked silk and used to order that there be much of it in his house."[38] His servants wore splendid colored silks. This official, who was vizier to Mu'aiyad al-Dawla, had a storehouse for robes of honor (khizāna al-khila').

An account of the ṭirāz of the Buwaihids is given in 'Utbī[39] in his history of the Ghaznevids, entitled *Kitāb al-Yamīnī*. It seems that this Shi'a dynasty had taken over the ṭirāz system, which rightly belonged to the Abbasid caliph, and turned it to their own use. During the internecine quarrels of the Buwaihids, 'Aḍud al-Dawla received at his court one of the officers of the Samanid court, Ahmed K͟hwārizmī, who had come with demands from his master:

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[34] Ḳalḳashandī *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), III, 476. Page 477 refers to a khizāna al-fursh, called in his day firāsh-khāna.

[35] G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'histoire de Bagdâdh d'Aboû Bakr Aḥmad ibn Thâbit al-Khaṭîb al-Bagdâdhî* (Paris, 1904), text, p. 52, trans., p. 135.

[36] Suyūṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā'* (Calcutta, 1881), p. 473.

[37] N. A. Reath and E. B. Sachs, *Persian Textiles and Their Technique* .... (New Haven, 1937), Pl. 50. These are probably ṭardwaḥsh and were also made in Fatimid Egypt. See *infra*, Chapter XVI.

[38] R. A. Nicholson, *Second Reading Book* (Cambridge, 1909), p. 111.

[39] 'Utbī, *Kitāb al-Yamīnī* (Cairo, 1286 H.), pp. 91–93.

> I set before him a memorandum which he ('Utbī, the Samanid vizier, ob. 371 H. [981–82 A.D.]) had given me, with particulars of what I was to bring from Iraq province. Among these were one thousand manufactured garments (t͟hawb), embroidered (muṭarraz) with the ṭirāz, containing the name of the Emir al-Saiyid al-Malik al-Mu'aiyad al-Manṣūr Walī al-Ni'am Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, Nūḥ ibn Manṣūr, the client of the Commander of the Faithful, and five hundred garments embroidered with the name of al-S͟haik͟h al-Saiyid Abu 'l-Ḥusain 'Ubaid Allāh ibn Ahmed, and a like quantity marked (mu'lama) with the name of the noble chamberlain, Abu 'l-'Abbās Tās͟h.

This assumption of overlordship annoyed the proud Buwaihid very much, but finally he acceded to his request, and replied to the envoy:

> We have ordered the execution of the contents of the memorandum which the sheikh has requested, so as not to put him to any inconvenience, and so as not to alter his attitude of benevolence. The manufacture will take place so that the finishing touches of the artisans, and the execution of your requirements are in time for your return from your destination.

Ahmed K͟hwārizmī said:

> So I asked all those to be made with the aforementioned inscriptions (ṭirāz), and took them with me to Bukhara, crowned with success, along with the other things which were prescribed.

This event took place some time between 365 H. (976 A.D.), when Nūḥ ibn Manṣūr came to the throne, and 371 H. (981–82 A.D.), when 'Utbī died.

Yet more details of the stuffs used at the court of 'Aḍud al-Dawla are given by Miskawaihī:

> The Persian New Year approached, and 'Aḍud al-Dawla wanted to have a gown (ḳabā') of siḳlāṭūn cut out for himself to wear. He bade me (said Abū Naṣr) fetch from the store (k͟hizāna), a fabric suitable for a gown. I went there, selected a fine material of the usual sort and brought it to him. When I set it before him he looked at it, then took it up and flung it at me, saying: "That is not the sort I wanted." I supposed that he did not think it good enough, and wanted something superior. So I went back and produced from another locker (bāba) something richer, and brought it to him. When his eyes fell on it he exclaimed, "Blindhearted man, not this." I remained bewildered, not knowing what to do. I returned to the store, where Abū Naṣr Bundār asked me why I looked so perplexed, and why I had taken two fabrics and brought them back. When I explained the situation to him, he laughed, and said, "If you had only told me I should have saved you this perplexity." He rose and opened a case (safaṭ) containing siḳlāṭūn fabrics of ordinary quality, worth five dinars apiece.[40]

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[40] Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate,* ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), VI, 67. The following passage of 'Umarī is relevant in the context (*Masālik al-*

'Aḏud al-Dawla accepted this and had it made into a gown and wore it at Nawrūz.

'Aḏud al-Dawla had an overmantle (fardjīya) lined with ermine (ḳ māḳ m). One of his men importuned him to present him with this robe, so that eventually he tore it apart, and gave him the siḳlāṭūn, saying to the stirrup holders:

> You know that we have in our possession enough robes of siḳlāṭūn to bestow on the whole army if we chose to do so. But these linings (baṭā'in) of fur are rare, and only a few pieces are brought to us in the year from distant countries outside our dominions.[41]

Under the events of the year 512 H. (1118–19 A.D.), ibn al-Athīr reported:

> In this year al-Mustarshid bi'llāh cast out of the royal assignments of fiefs (al-iḳtā' al-mukhtaṣṣ) every injustice, and ordered that only what former custom decreed should be taken, and he abolished the farming (ḍamān) of the weaving of gold (ghazl al-dhahab). The manufacturers of scarlet (siḳlāṭūn) and mumazzadj, and others who manufactured it used to suffer great distress at the hands of the governors over them, and much hardship.[42]

Ḳalḳashandī[43] described the customs of the later caliphs in regard to the robes of honor, and of the appointment of governors and of their investiture:

> If the person whom the caliph appointed was one of the kings of the districts far away from the court of the caliph, for example such as the kings of Egypt at that time, and others, the robe of honor (tashrīf) was despatched with a messenger to him from the caliph. It was an upper gown (djubba) of black satin (aṭlas) with a golden ṭirāz border, and a necklace (ṭawḳ) of gold to be placed on his neck, and two bracelets (siwār) of gold, to be placed on his hands . . . and a sword, the scabbard of which was covered with gold, and a horse with a saddle (markab) of gold, and a black standard ('alam) with the name of the caliph written in white, to be unfurled over his head. It was one such as this that was sent to the Sultan Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf ibn Aiyūb (ca. 550 H. [1200 A.D.]), and then his brother, al-'Ādil.
>
> When it reached the sultan of that region, he donned the robe of honor, and the turban ('imāma), girt the sword about him, mounted the horse, and proceeded at the head of his retinue until he came to his palace. According as the circumstances of the occasion required, other robes for the sultan's children, or his vizier, or one of his relatives, were sometimes despatched with the robes of honor.

The same author stated that al-Nāṣir ibn al-'Azīz ibn al-Sulṭān Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn was given a robe of honor (khil'a) by Musta'ṣim in 655 H. (1257 A.D.); he was the last of the Ayyubids to receive this honor.[44]

Abṣār, [partially] trans. by E. M. Quatremère, *Notes et extr. de la Bibl. Nat.*, XIII [1838], 247): "Leur (les Sāmānides) puissance était tellement affermie, que les rois des différentes contrées reconnaissaient leur suprématie. Les princes de la famille de Būya (les Buwaihids) malgré l'étendue de leur empire, se regardaient comme les vasseaux des Sāmānides, leur payaient des tributs, et leur envoyaient des étoffes sur lesquelles étaient brodés les noms de ces souverains ainsi que ceux des principaux fonctionnaires de leur état, tels que le wazīr, le chambellan (ḥādjib)."

[41] Miskawaihī, *op. cit.*, text, III, 73, trans., VI, 74–75. For ḳ māḳ m see Ibn Abī Uṣaibi'a, *op. cit.*, I, 136. It seems to be merely a variant of ḳāḳum, "ermine."

[42] Ibn al-Athīr, *op. cit.*, X, 384.

[43] Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, III, 276.

[44] *Ibid.*, III, 276.

It has been suggested, earlier in this chapter, that the first ṭirāz factory of Baghdad was in the Round City of Manṣūr as long as the caliphs continued to live there. Now there are two places in Baghdad, the first called dār al-ḳazz, and the second dār al-ḳuṭn—the "House of Silk" and the "House of Cotton"—about which little is known, but either or both of these places may have had some connection with the royal factories (Map 1). All Yāḳūt said is:

> Between it (the dār al-ḳazz) and the country, nowadays, there is about a parasang. All around it has been destroyed, and there remain only four contiguous places—dār al-ḳazz, the 'Attābī Quarter, al-Naṣrīya, and al-Shihārsūk. The rest is composed of large mounds. Paper is made there nowadays.[45]

A writer known as Dār al-Ḳuṭnī[46] was born in 306 H. (918 A.D.).

Definite information as to the site of the ṭirāz factory of the Buwaihid and Seljuk periods is given in the *Manāḳib Baghdād* of Ibn al-Djawzī (510–97 H. [1116–1200 A.D.]). The earliest known ṭirāzī stuffs from Baghdad date from the fourth century, and perhaps one may look for the foundation of this institution then:

> As for its (the Bāb al-Ṭāḳ) streets, one street of those next (or near) to the Tigris, is a ṭirāz street, stretching from al-Djisr (the bridge, i.e., the middle bridge of the Tigris), to the beginning of al-Zāhir, which is a garden of about two hundred djarībs (about twenty acres[47]) belonging to the king. On the other side of it are the mosques of the lords of the castles and the dwellings of their servants, and, in between that, their stables (iṣtablāt). Then next to it, on the right, at the bridge, is the Sūḳ of Yaḥyā which connects the houses of viziers and emirs, like Dār Shādī, and al-Rabīb, and Ibn al-Awḥad, and Ḳaṣr al-Wāfī (for whose riding animals each day's fodder was a thousand nose-bags), that are next to the bank (al-Shaṭṭ). At the end of this market is Dār Faradj, dwellings of the pious and leaders. On the west side, I mean of the Sūḳ of Yaḥyā, are the large shops (al-dakākīn al-'āliya), and the populous streets of the floursellers, bakers, and sellers of sweetmeats. Then at the very end of the houses on the bank (Dūr Shāṭi'īya) is the palace of Mu'izz al-Dawla with a dam (masanna) of the thickness of a hundred bricks. The palace has the "wonderful window" (al-rawshan al-badī'—of glass ?), and this is the ṭirāz of the Bāb al-Ṭāḳ al-Shāṭi'. As for its entrances, the beginning of them is the square (al-'Arṣa) which is Raḥba al-Djisr. The latter is divided into two large streets, one of them belonging to the artisans (asākifa). Then comes Sūḳ al-Ṭair.[48]

I have been unable to define the site of this factory with complete certainty, as the topography of this part of the city is itself as yet somewhat vague. According to 'Arīb,[49] al-Rāsibī in 301 H. (913 A.D.) left more than a hundred garments (thawb) of precious ṭāḳī khazz-silk, and this may be named after the Bāb al-Ṭāḳ in Baghdad.

The Baghdad ṭirāz seems to have survived the Mongol invasion, and destruction of the city, for the following anecdote not only indicates its survival but the foundation of a new ṭirāz factory at Sulṭānīya, the Mongol capital. During the year 712 H. (1312 A.D.) D'Ohsson[50] reported:

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[45] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 522. See G. Le Strange, *Baghdad During the Abbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1924), pp. 137 and 139. These places were, however, more likely to be bazaars.

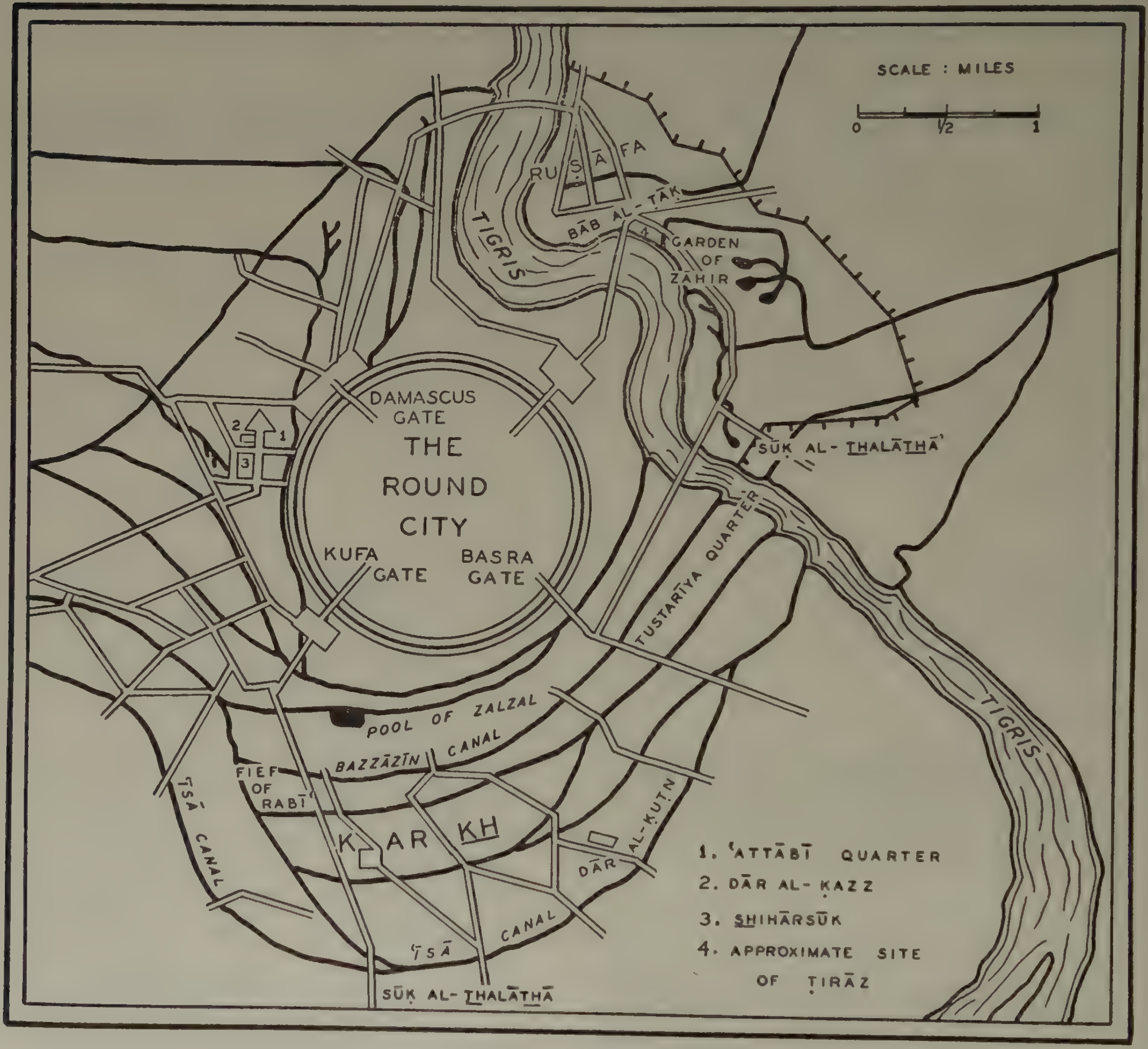
[46] *Ibid.*, p. 84. C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Leyden, 1937), Suppl. I, 275.

[47] See Le Strange, *op. cit.*, index: "Jarīb."

[48] G. Wiet, *L'Exposition persane de 1931* (Cairo, 1933), p. 6. Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib Baghdād* (Baghdad, 1342 H. [1923–24 A.D.]), pp. 25–26.

[49] 'Arīb, *Tabari continuatus*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1897), pp. 44–45.

> Dès son retour à Sulṭānīya, il (le Sulṭān) éleva au poste de wazir Tāj al-Dīn 'Alīshāh. Ce nouveau ministre des finances avait été marchand de bijoux, d'étoffes et d'autres articles. Son commerce l'avait mis en relation avec l'Amīr Ḥusain Gūrkhān et le prince Uljaitū; ils l'introduisirent auprès du Sulṭān auquel il plût: il était spirituel, adroit, souple, insinuant. Le wazir Sa'd al-Dīn, prenant


SCALE : MILES
0
½
1
RUSĀFA
TIGRIS
BĀB AL-ṬĀḲ
4
GARDEN OF ZĀHIR
DAMASCUS GATE
THE ROUND CITY
KUFA GATE
BASRA GATE
1
2
3
SŪḲ AL-THALĀTHĀ'
TUSTARĪYA QUARTER
TIGRIS
POOL OF ZALZAL
BAZZĀZĪN CANAL
FIEF OF RABĪ'
ʿĪSĀ CANAL
KARKH
DĀR AL-ḲUṬN
1. 'ATTĀBĪ QUARTER
2. DĀR AL-ḲAZZ
3. SHIHĀRSŪK
4. APPROXIMATE SITE OF ṬIRĀZ
ʿĪSĀ CANAL
SŪḲ AL-THALĀTHĀ

MAP 1.—Baghdad.

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[50] C. d'Ohsson, *Histoire des mongols* (The Hague and Amsterdam, 1834–35), IV, 545–47 (cited by C. Huart in his *Histoire de Bagdad* [Paris, 1901]).

ombrage de la faveur dont il jouissait, lui confia pour l'éloigner, la direction des manufactures royales à Bagdad. ‘Alīshāh offrit au Sulṭān lorsqu'il vint dans cette residence, des étoffes magnifiques et de grandes barques ornées somptueusement." . . . [he still further rose in his favor through a singing girl who attracted the attention of the Sultan . . .] "Un jour ‘Alīshāh donnant une fête somptueuse au Sulṭān, dans l'hôtel de la manufacture royale de Sulṭānīya, après avoir offert des présents au souverein, à ses courtisans, et aux généraux, posa d'abord trois pièces de riches étoffes devant Rashīd al-Dīn et ensuite un égal nombre devant Sa‘d al-Dīn." [The last named showed so much anger at being placed second that he annoyed the sultan.] [51]

Part 2

THE MANUFACTURES OF BAGHDAD

As in the case of the ṭirāz factory, information is also lacking about the textile manufactures of the metropolis of Islam. Because of its central position, Baghdad was exposed to every kind of cultural influence in the Islamic world. Ya‘ḳūbī, about 278 H. (891 A.D.), described the cosmopolitan aspect of the city:

> There is not a people from any country but has a quarter (maḥalla) in it, a place for the exchange of their produce, and a special district of their own. That which is not to be found in any other town of the world is brought together there. On each side of it flow the two greatest rivers, the Tigris and the Euphrates. By both land and sea, merchandise and provisions come to it by the easiest of routes, so that all merchandise brought from the East and West of the countries of Islam, besides that of other countries, is represented here. So much commerce goes to it from Hind, Sind, China, Tibet, the Turks, Dailam, the Khazars, the Abyssinians, and other countries, that more articles of merchandise are to be found there than in the countries of origin themselves. Withal it is easy of access and approach, so that it seems as if all the goods of the earth were driven towards it, that all the treasures of the world were collected together in it, and that worldly blessings attained perfection there . . . .
>
> You ascend from the Bāb al-Karkh, turning to the right of the fief of Rabī‘, the client of the Commander of the Faithful, which contains merchants, the merchants of Khurasan, consisting of sellers of cloth (bazzāz), and the various kinds of garments brought from Khurasan, sold by themselves, not along with anything else.[52]

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[51] *Ibid.* Additional Notes: Ḳalḳashandī gives a very full description of other insignia of the caliphs and of the Mameluke sultans, including the raḳaba (*Ṣubḥ,* II, 128), a cloth of yellow silk embroidered with gold, for covering the sultan's horse (see Dozy, *op. cit.*), and standards (*Ṣubḥ,* IV, 8), the ghāshiya (*ibid.,* IV, 7), the miẓalla or čatr, umbrella (*ibid.*), which is also described by Chau Ju-Kua (*Chu-fan-chih, on the Arab and Chinese Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,* trans. by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill [St. Petersburg, 1911], I, 135) in the twelfth to thirteenth century and by whom the miẓalla is also described as an umbrella with differences in minor details.

More information about the Mameluke ṭirāz is to be found in the *Ṣubḥ,* in the following places: III, 278–81, 498; IV, 6 and 55. Quatremère (in his translation of the *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l'Égypte*) has also some interesting details, and, of course, Maḳrīzī supplies a great deal of information from the *Khiṭaṭ*. These, however, lie outside the early period, which is being discussed here, and, indeed, would involve more research than time permits, for the post-Mongol period is very well documented.

[52] Ya‘ḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1892), VII, 234 and 245.

Similar passages are to be found in other authors, especially Ibn al-Faḳīh,[53] who noted in particular, that "they have white Merv garments, and nobody else can share in the excellence of their manufacture." This passage probably refers to a type of cotton cloth, and not to any distinctive Mervian cloth which had come to Baghdad.

Abū'l-Ḳāsim[54] spoke of 'Attābī Dabīḳī with a gold-embroidered border (mu'lam muthaḳḳal). It is rather hard to say what this material was, but since the Dabīḳī cloth was, of course, the kind made in the Tinnīs-Damietta group, a linen cloth with a ṭirāz border, though there were also silken kinds, this is perhaps one of the types resembling Dabīḳī, but manufactured in the 'Attābī quarter of Baghdad. The *Tuḥfa al-Albāb* of Gharnāṭī gives some indication of the nature of this 'Attābī:

> In the land of the Zandj (Negroes) there are donkeys, each of which is similar to the stuff 'Attābī—a striped cloth (mukhaṭṭaṭ) with black and white in regular stripes (khuṭūṭ). It has a more lovely black and white than ibrīsm-silk in the 'Attābī of Baghdad and Khurasan. There was an ass of this kind at Cairo, but it is dead. Its skin has been kept and stuffed with cotton and it is brought out on festival days. It is one of the marvels of the world.[55]

Apparently, the 'Attābī which he knew (473–565 H. [1080–1169–70 A.D.]) was a silky cloth resembling the coat of a zebra.

Al-Ṣūlī[56] in the events of the year 323 H. (935 A.D.) recounted that "a great fire occurred in Karkh in Shawwāl which burnt the perfumer's quarter, the quarters of the chemists, the makers of glazed ware (or painters, aṣḥāb al-madhūn), the silkmakers (khazzāzūn), and the jewelers (djawharīyūn)."

How far the Baghdad products traveled even in the early centuries of Islam is evident from the list of presents given to a Spanish ruler in 327 H. (939 A.D.). The list contains the items "Baghdad cloths (malāḥif)," silk, and gold,[57] for the adornment of horses.

The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[58] notes that "Baghdad produces cotton stuffs, silk textiles, crystals turned on a lathe, and glazed ware (jāma-yi-pamba va abrīshum)." Maḳdisī[59] stated that "in the City of Peace (Baghdad) rare articles of merchandise are to be found as well as all kinds of silken cloth (ḳazz) and other things." Among the products for which Iraq was specially famous he numbers the "muḥkam (glass?) and other rarities of Baghdad. . . . and at Baghdad, izārs (men's waist wrappers or women's veils covering the whole body), turbans ('imāma), and the valuable Yakānakī[60] cloth are made." It is worthy of remark that this

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[53] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 252.

[54] Abu'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[55] [Gharnāṭī], G. Ferrand, "Le *Tuḥfat al-Albāb* de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī," *Journ. asiatique*, CCVII (1925), 110 of the text.

[56] Al-Ṣūlī, *Akhbār al-Rāḍī wa'l-Muttaḳi, from the Kitāb al-Awrāḳ*, ed. J. Heyworthe-Dunne (London, 1935), p. 68.

[57] Maḳḳarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagne*, ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855–61), I, 229–31. See Chapter XVII of this work on Spanish textiles.

[58] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 138.

[59] Maḳdisī, *Descriptio imperii Moslemici, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed. 1906), III, 128.

[60] Persian Yagānagī, "smooth or precious cloth." (?) Gloss. in *B.G.A.*

Persian cloth is also to be found in Baghdad along with such other types of foreign cloth as Dabīḳī from Egypt.

Miskawaihī stated:

> [In 375 H. (985–86 A.D.)] Ṣamṣām al-Dawla proposed to impose a duty of 10 per cent on the price of silken and cotton cloths manufactured in Baghdad . . . . Abu 'l-Fatḥ Rāzī had represented the amount to be got from this duty as very large, and offered to procure a million dirhams thence every year. There was a meeting held in the mosque of Manṣūr, and they decided to prevent the Friday worship, while there were riots in other cities. They were, in consequence, relieved of the new impost.[61]

The government, however, did succeed in placing this tax on the recalcitrant population, for Miskawaihī, under the annals for the year 389 H. (999 A.D.), reported:

> Abū Naṣr Sābūr had endeavored to impose a tithe on all silken and cotton goods (thiyāb ibrīsmīyāt wa-ḳuṭnīyāt) manufactured in Baghdad. This caused a riot on the part of the people of the 'Attābī quarter, and of the Damascus Gate, who proceeded to the public mosque on Friday the tenth, stopped the sermon and prayer, clamored and appealed, and went into the streets in this style. On Tuesday they proceeded to the palace of Abū Naṣr Sābūr in Daizadj Street whence they were kept out by the young 'Alawids. Leaving Daizadj Street, they went to the Tigris . . . . It was arranged (in consequence of the riot) that the tithe should be taken from the price of the silken goods only (silk being forbidden to men by religious law), and to that effect a proclamation was made on Sunday, the fourth of Djumādā I. (April 23, 999), on the western side, and on the following Monday, on the eastern side. This tax was maintained, officers and an inspector appointed for its collection, and an office set apart for this purpose in a palace on the Pool (probably the Pool of Zalzal;[62] stamps (khutūm) were placed on all goods from the looms (manāsidj), and sold and sealed.
>
> This practice was retained until the last days of 'Amīd al-Djuyūsh, who abolished it and put a stop to the custom.[63]

Another account of the same is given by al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi' in his *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, but instead of the phrase "sold and sealed" he has "sold and made red."[64]

In the reign of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, Tha'ālibī counted the siḳlāṭūn of Baghdad as a choice article of clothing[65] and reported that "as regards striped cloaks, 'Attābī stuffs, and scarlets, Baghdad and Isfahan share in them."[66] Both Gharnāṭī,[67] and Nuwairī[68] mentioned the siḳlāṭūn of Baghdad as among the especially fine articles of clothing.

Ibn Djubair[69] (580 H. [1184 A.D.]) added: "One of the names of the quarters (of Baghdad) is 'Attābīya; the 'Attābī garments which are of silk (ḥarīr) and cotton of various colors are made there."

Chau Ju-Kua, the Chinese author of the twelfth to the thirteenth century, numbered

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[61] Miskawaihī, *op. cit.*, VI, 119–20. Cf. Suyūṭī, *op. cit.*, trans. by Jarrett, p. 429.

[62] See Le Strange, *op. cit.*

[63] Miskawaihī, *op. cit.*, VI, 361.

[64] Al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *op. cit.*, p. 368.

[65] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 132.

[66] Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 429.

[67] Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

[68] Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), I, 356. Nuwairī died in 1332 A.D.

[69] *The Travels of Ibn Jubair*, ed. W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1907), V, 226.

“white cloth (yüe-no)” among the products of Baghdad, and again “opaque glass, coral, native gold (or gold bullion), brocades (or kincobs), sarcenets, cornelian, and pearls.”[70] This kind of cloth he also remarked was to be found at Ghazni (Ki-tz ï-ni).[71]

Yāḳūt[72] has some notes on the cloth manufacturing centers in the city. He mentioned Dabīḳīya, on the ‘Īsā canal, as one of those quarters, and this must have been where the supplies of that material were made for the consumption of Baghdad. If the evidence of Maḳrīzī is reliable, the import figure for the annual supply from Egypt is really very low for the province of Iraq,[73] amounting to between 20,000 and 30,000 dinars per annum, until 360 H. (970 A.D.) at least. It may be after this date that weavers from Egypt migrated to Baghdad to be freed of the restrictions placed on the industry by the government, and to set up factories in Baghdad. They were not the only people to give their name to a quarter of the city where textiles were manufactured, for Yāḳūt[74] also mentioned the Tustarīya Quarter, on the west side between the Tigris and Bāb al-Baṣra, where the people of Tustar used to live—“and Tustarī garments are made there.” As Abu ’l-Ḳāsim Hibat Allāh ibn Ahmed al-Ḥarīrī al-Tustarī and another also with the name of al-Ḥarīrī were called Tustarī because they lived in this part of Baghdad, one may deduce that silk must have been handled there, and probably all the other Tustar fabrics. Khuzistan early exerted an influence on Baghdad, for Ṭabarī[75] mentioned a certain Abu Aiyūb al-Khūzī (of Khuzistan), who made tents of a certain stuff for Manṣūr, suggesting that this man had migrated to Baghdad, possibly into royal service.

In the later days of the caliphate, the trade in cloth migrated from the west side of Baghdad to the east side. Yāḳūt[76] said: “Sūḳ al-Thalāthā’ is the most populous market in Baghdad, because the market of the clothmakers (Sūḳ al-Bazzāzīn) is there.” After the Mongol conquest, Abu ’l-Fidā[77] stated that “Sūḳ al-Thalāthā’ (Tuesday market) on the east bank of the Tigris later became the place where most clothmakers were established.” As he followed mostly pre-Mongol sources, this doubtless refers to the latter period of the Abbasid era.

The Chinese translation of Yüan ch‘ao pi shi gives a list of articles sent from Baghdad to Ogotai Khan (first half of the thirteenth century), which agrees well with the list of manufactures in Baghdad mentioned by Marco Polo:

Shiramala	(?)
Nakhut	(a kind of gold brocade) Arabic nakhkh
Nachidut	(a silk stuff interwoven with gold) Arabic nasīdj
Dardas	(a stuff embroidered with gold)
Subut	(pearls)
Tanas	(great pearls)[78]

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[70] Chau Ju-Kua, *op. cit.*, I, 135 and 103.

[71] *Ibid.*, I, 138.

[72] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 548. A certain Abu ’l-‘Abbās al-Dabīḳī al-Bazzāz al-Baghdādi came from this quarter.

[73] See Chapter XV.

[74] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 850.

[75] Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, ser. III, I, 417–18.

[76] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 932. See also Yāḳūt on dār al-ḳazz in the first part of this chapter.

[77] Abu ’l-Fidā’, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), II, 69, following the Mushtarik.

[78] E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* (London, 1910), II, 124.

Marco Polo[79] said: "In Baudas (Baghdad) they weave many different kinds of silk stuffs and gold brocades such as nasich (nasīdj), and nac (nakhkh), and cramoisy (ḳirmizī), and many another tissue richly wrought with figures of beasts and birds." This seems to be a kind of ṭardwaḥsh. Another text adds: "Almost all the pearls that are brought from India to Christian countries are pierced in Baghdad."[80]

Still later Ibn Baṭūṭa (756 H. [1355 A.D.]) at Smyrna[81] was given two garments of a stuff called kamkhā: "It is a silk stuff (ḥarīr) made at Baghdad, Tabriz, Nishapur, and in China." These three cities were important under the Mongols, and they may have had something to do with the spread of the manufacture of this stuff from China, though that kind of material was not unknown to the Muslims before the conquest.

'Umarī remarked that the cotton and linen of Tunis are more perfect and more beautiful than the Naṣāfī (a white silk stuff) of Baghdad,[82] during the first half of the fourteenth century.

Very much later Pedro Teixeira[83] wrote that "there is produced in the environs (of Baghdad) much cotton and silk; all wrought up and used in the city, where there are more than four thousand weavers of wool, flax, cotton, and silk, who are never out of work."

The Jewish population of Baghdad was very large, and Benjamin of Tudela [84] spoke of a population of 40,000 Jews, and, though there is some doubt as to the figure, there were twenty-eight synagogues there. The professions of the Jews are not specified.

Ruṣāfa

Perhaps it was in Baghdad, in the district of al-Ruṣāfa, that the hats called Ruṣāfīya—a kind of headdress of the type known as "ḳalansuwa"—were made. Ibn Khallikān mentioned one of those hats when talking of Dja'far the Barmecide[85] and, according to Miskawaihī,[86] the Caliph Ṭā'i' wore a black turban of Ruṣāfa (375 H. [985–86 A.D.]). It is, of course, possible that they were named after Ruṣāfa in Syria.

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[79] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian,* trans. and annotated by H. Yule (London, 1875), I, 65.

[80] *The Travels of Marco Polo,* trans. by A. Ricci (London, 1931), p. 25.

[81] *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), II, 311. Cf. Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* p. 127. Ṭabarī (*op. cit.,* ser. III, II, 1169) quoted a poet of the Zuṭṭ describing his people as wearing Kamakhān of China (220 H. [835 A.D.]).

[82] 'Umarī, "I, L'Afrique, moins l'Égypte," *Masālik el abṣār fī mamālik el amṣār,* trans. by G. Demombynes (Paris, 1927), p. 111.

[83] *The Travels of P. Teixeira with His "Kings of Harmuz,"* trans. and annotated by W. F. Sinclair, further notes by D. Ferguson (London, 1902), p. 67.

[84] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), p. 39.

[85] *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary,* trans. by M. de Slane (Paris-London, 1843–71), I, 303.

[86] Miskawaihī, *op. cit.,* text, III, 123. Cf. also Ṭabarī, *op. cit.,* ser. III, 1368, and *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum,* ed. P. De Jong and R. Dozy (Leyden, 1860), I, 31.

CHAPTER III

THE MANUFACTURES OF IRAQ AND JAZIRA

THE LIST OF LOCAL PRODUCTS BROUGHT WITH THE TAX TO BAGHDAD IN THE TIME OF Ma'mūn[1] includes the very curious item of "two hundred Nadjrānī cloaks (ḥulla)." Baiḍāwī [2] described these as red cloaks, and they were sent in tribute to the early Muslims down to the time of Rashid. It was probably the Sawād of Iraq, though it might have been the Sawād, or surrounding district, of Baghdad that supplied these cloaks. The term Nadjrānī is difficult to explain, but Nadjrān in Arabia was part of Yemen, a province famous for its mantles, and so there may have been some similarity between these two manufactures.

Like Baghdad, the city of Kufa was an Arab foundation and grew to prominence very rapidly, gradually absorbing the populations of the neighboring Ḥīra and Ḳādisīya. Though of prime importance as a center of industry, and a center, doubtless, where the distinctively Islamic style was formed by the fusion of other elements, very little is known about it (Map 2).

Djāḥiẓ[3] reported that the best kind of figured stuff (washī) is the Sābirī, and the Kufan, and the ibrīsm-silk kind, the woven-gold kind (al-mudhahhab al-mansūdj), and then the Alexandrine kind of pure linen (kattān) which is woven with gold (mansūdj bi-dhahab); the ***Kitāb al-Muwashshā***[4] mentions Kufan silks (khazz) among the garments worn by the fashionable. Ibn al-Faḳīh[5] stated that it has special manufactures of washī-silk and khazz-silk, while Ibn Ḥawḳal[6] found that its qualities closely resembled those of Basra. Maḳdisi[7] said that the turbans ('imāma) of khazz-silk made in Kufa are one of the specialties of Iraq, and that even the Sūsī turbans cannot equal the soft thin stuff (sakb) of Kufa.[8]

There is some uncertainty as to the meaning of the term Sābirī, which is discussed by the editor of Djāḥiẓ:

> It is derived from Sābūr. In the tradition of Ḥabīb ibn Abī Thābit, it says: "I saw Ibn 'Abbās wearing a Sābirī garment (thawb) which was transparent. They call any fine thing Sābirī, its origin being in the Sābirī breastplates (durū')." The *Tādj* says: "Sābirī is a very fine robe." Dhū Rumma said:
>
> "She brought a spider's web, resembling the loose-woven Sābirī on her limbs (Sābirī mushabraḳ)." [9]

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[1] See the list from the *Djirāb al-Dawla*, quoted on p. 63.

[2] Baiḍāwī, *Tafsīr* (Cairo, 1306 H.), II, 22 (commentary on Sura III, verse 54). See Chapter XV, fn. 20.

[3] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 334.

[4] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, ed R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124. Cf. *Aghānī*, V, 294: Five chests of Kufan washī.

[5] Ibn al-Faḳīh, ***Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān***, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 50 and 252.

[6] Ibn Ḥawḳal, ***Opus Geographicum***, ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed.; Leyden, 1938–39), p. 239.

[7] Maḳdisī, ***Descriptio imperii Moslemici***, ***B.G.A.*** (Leyden, 1906), III, 128.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 416.

[9] Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, pp. 334–35.

Thaʿālibī,[10] however, derives the name from Nishapur. I think this Sābirī stuff, despite what the other authors have said, may have come from Bīshāpūr in Fars rather than from Nishapur, because that city was mostly ruined in Makdisī's and Thaʿālibī's time and may have been almost unknown to the latter. Washī is not given as one of the products of Nishapur. It is known that there was an important ṭirāz in Bīshāpūr, but no author has paid much attention to its products, though inscribed ṭirāzī textiles from that place are known to archaeologists.

Masʿūdī[11] stated that Narsī stuffs (thiyāb) were made along the canal of Nars, which had existed from Sasanian times. Yāḳūt,[12] too, knew that "people and Narsī stuffs are called after it." Again, when discussing Abū Muslim, Masʿūdī[13] said: "He was one of the people of Burs and al-Djāmiʿān (Ḥilla) of the village called Khartīnīya, with which Bursī garments are connected, known as Khartīnīya. It is one of the districts of Kufa and its Sawād."

Of two other cities, Maḳdisī[14] added: "The handkerchiefs (manādīl) of al-Ḳaṣr and al-Buwaib are among the specialties of Iraq."

The district of Maisān in southeastern Iraq is famous for the type of cloth which derives its name from that locality. Even in pre-Islamic times, if one can trust Azraḳī's sources, it supplied the Arabs with precious stuffs, for he said that the mother of Zaid ibn Thābit saw on the Kaaba, when the prophet was there, "various coverings of striped Yemen stuffs (waṣā'il), carpets (anṭāʿ), stuffs called kurr (pl. kirār), silk (khazz), and Iraqi carpets (namāriḳ), that is to say Maisānī."[15] Djāḥiẓ stated:

> From Maisān come carpets (anmāṭ) and cushions (wasīda) and[16] the best and most expensive carpetings (fursh) include, after the Armenian and khusrawānī Rūmī (literally the Roman, i.e., Byzantine, kingly [of Chosroeic] type, possibly the manufactures of Khuzistan being intended), of brocade, khazz-silk brocaded (mudabbadj) in the Maisānī fashion.[17]

Neither Armenian nor Maisānī fabrics were ever interwoven with gold. Abu 'l-Ḳāsim[18] cited the velvets of the Sawād (ḳuṭuf Sawādīya) as a typical furnishing of the houses of Isfahan.

Ibn Rusta (290 H. [903 A.D.]) said of Djabbul: "It is one of the towns of Maisān where Maisānī garments are made."[19] He added that the sultan had a kitchen (ṭabīkh) there, and

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[10] Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 429. Muhammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tādj al-ʿArūs* (Cairo, 1307 H. [1888–90 A.D.]), III, 253. Ibn Saʿd, *Biographien Muhammeds, seiner Gefährten, und der späteren Träger des Islams bis zum Jahre 230 der Flucht,* ed. E. Sachau and others (Leyden, 1904–21), VI, 231, for a Sābirī turban. See Djarīr and Farazdaḳ, *Naḳā'id,* ed. A. A. Bevan (Leyden, 1905–09), Index.

[11] Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), II, 115.

[12] Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch* (Leipzig, 1866–73), IV, 773.

[13] Masʿūdī, *op. cit.,* VI, 59. Possibly this should be read Nars though the name is found in Yāḳūt.

[14] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 128.

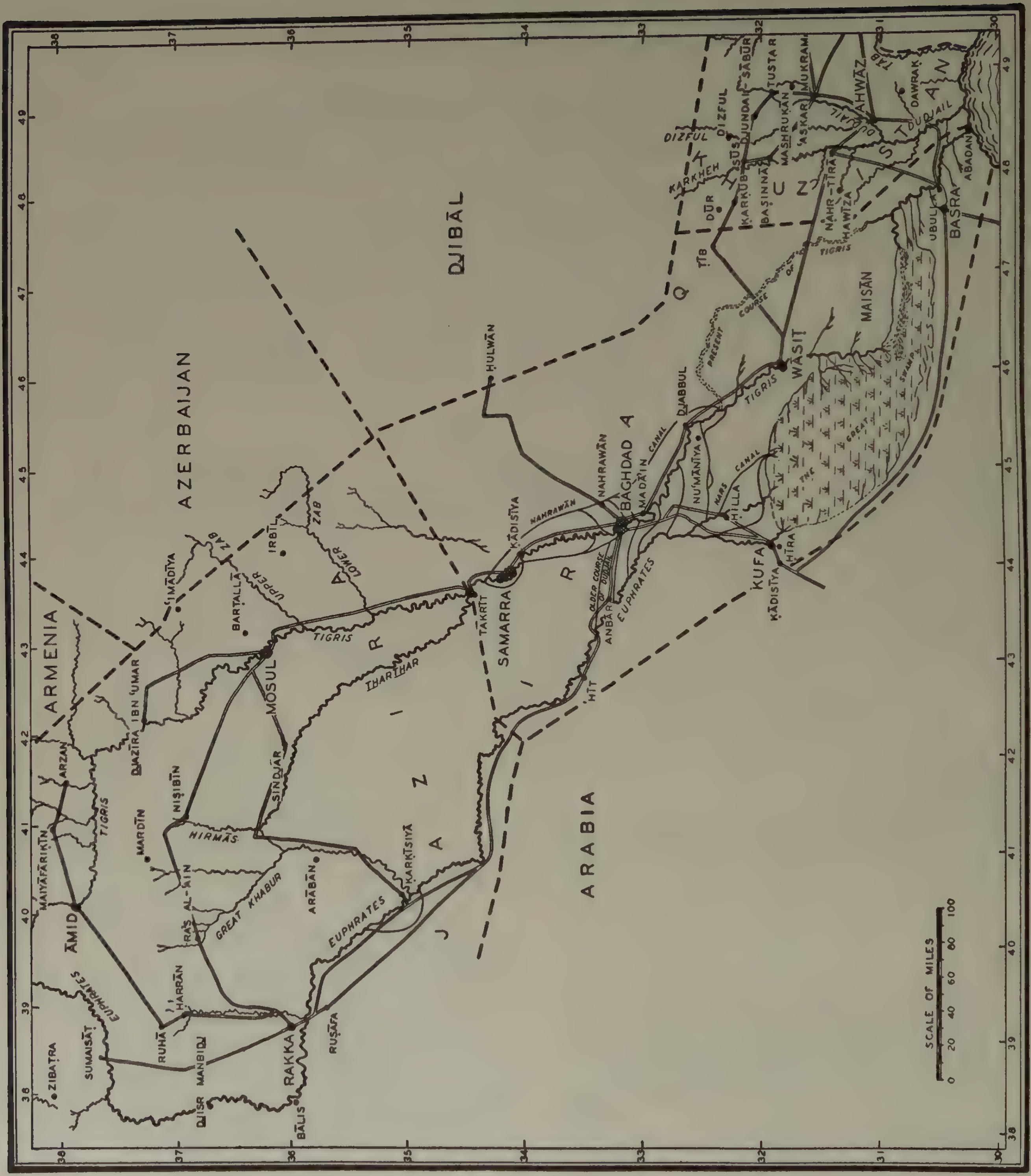
[15] Azraḳī in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857–61), I, 174.

[16] Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.,* p. 336.

[17] *Ibid.,* p. 346.

[18] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim* (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 37.

[19] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-Aʿlāḳ al-Nafīsa,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), III, 186–87.


ARMENIA
AZERBAIJAN
DJIBĀL
ARABIA
JAZIRA
IRAQ
KHUZISTAN
AMID
MAIYĀFĀRIKĪN
ARZAN
TIGRIS
MARDĪN
NIṢIBĪN
DJAZĪRA IBN ʿUMAR
ʿIMĀDIYA
BARTALLĀ
IRBĪL
UPPER ZAB
LOWER ZAB
MOSUL
SINDJĀR
HIRMĀS
RAʾS AL-ʿAIN
GREAT KHABUR
ARĀBĀN
KARKĪSIYĀ
EUPHRATES
ḤARRĀN
RUHĀ
SUMAISĀṬ
ZIBAṬRA
MANBIDJ
DJISR MANBIDJ
RAKKA
RUṢĀFA
BĀLIS
THARTHAR
TAKRĪT
SAMARRA
ḲĀDISIYA
NAHRAWĀN
ḤULWĀN
BAGHDAD
MADĀʾIN
CANAL
DJABBUL
NUʿMĀNIYA
NARS CANAL
HILLA
HĪT
ANBĀR
OLDER COURSE
DUDJAIL
KUFA
ḤĪRA
ḲĀDISIYA
THE GREAT SWAMP
WĀSIṬ
PRESENT COURSE OF TIGRIS
MAISĀN
ṬĪB
DŪR
NAHR-TĪRĀ
ḤAWĪZA
UBULLA
BASRA
ʿABADAN
KARKHEH
KARKŪB
SŪS
BAṢINNĀ
DIZFUL
DJUNDAI-SĀBŪR
TUSTAR
MASHRUKĀN
ʿASKAR MUKRAM
AHWĀZ
DAWRAK
DUDJAIL
TAB
SCALE OF MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38
38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49

MAP 2.—Jazira and Iraq.

for this perhaps one should read ṭirāz, but this emendation is purely conjectural and has no support whatsoever. Ibn al-Faḳīh reported:

> The people of the Tigris district (Kūra Didjla) and the Sawād, Maisān, and Dast Maisān have the manufacture of curtains (sutūr), carpets (busuṭ), and the other makes of Maisānī, silk (ḥarīr), darānik-carpets, dūrank (bi-colored) carpets, and other kinds of furnishings and carpets (fursh wa-busuṭ) which are not to be found elsewhere.[20]

These durnūk-carpets are said by Djawālīḳī[21] to be a kind of ṭinfisa-carpet (a word which, according to Mez,[22] is derived from Greek) and bisāṭ (large carpet), but he remarked that others described them as curtains (sutūr) and large carpets (furūsh) with yellow and green color in them. Some said they had a short pile (khaml ḳaṣīr) like the pile of towels (khaml al-manādīl). The hair of the camel (farwa al-ba'īr) has been compared to them. These carpets, compared with other types, figure very little in Arabic and Persian literature.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi[23] included Maisān in a list of cities famous for their manufactures of stuffs, most of the others being ṭīrāz cities, while in the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*[24] the carpets (miṭraḥ) of Maisān are mentioned as articles de luxe about the time of 'Aḍud al-Dawla. These same Maisān carpets (miṭraḥ) are also cited by Nuwairī[25] as being of a very choice kind.

Very near the border of Khuzistan, Ṭīb was especially renowned for making trousercords (tikka) and other materials. Iṣṭakhrī[26] stated: "In Ṭīb trousercords resembling the Armenian kind are made. There are few better made in any Islamic country than those, except Armenia, so far as I know." Another manuscript adds: ". . . . except what has been introduced in Ṭūs, and they make there a kind that is better than the Ṭīb kind." This statement is not reproduced in Ibn Ḥawḳal,[27] who said:

> In Ṭīb trousercords are made resembling the Armenian kind. Rarely is there found in any place of Islam after Armenia, better or more splendid ones than these. Although those made in Salmās[28] are of the same kind, they do not fetch anything like their price nor approach anywhere near them in beauty. It is a middling and pleasant city with robes (aksiya) and camelots (barrakānāt).[29]

The first authority to mention these trouserbands who has come to my notice is the anonymous writer of the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* so possibly this manufacture was introduced into

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[20] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

[21] Djawālīḳī, *Kitāb al-Mu 'arrab,* ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1867), p. 68.

[22] A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam,* trans. by Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1937). Because of the printing many references in this work are inaccurate.

[23] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 267.

[24] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 132.

[25] Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–27), I, 356.

[26] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum . . . .*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 94.

[27] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[28] Reading Salmās with the extract quoted by the editor of the "Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," p. 438. The *B.G.A.* has Sidjilmāsa, which is improbable.

[29] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī (*op. cit.*, p. 8) wrote of "the beauty of the ṭirāz-border of his barrakān." Cf. also Chapter IV (Khuzistan).

Ṭūs between the time of Iṣṭak͟hrī (340 H. [951 A.D.]) and the authorship of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* (372 H. [982 A.D.]). This work also says: "Ṭīb produces very good trousercords just like the Armenian." [30] Idrīsī added: "They make trousercords similar to those made in Armenia, which are superior to all those made in Muslim countries, and black mantles (barrakānāt) the price of which is very high."[31]

Wāsiṭ was founded by the Arabs in 83 H. (702 A.D.), and from the list of stuffs made there, one sees that the influence of the Khuzistan group was the more prominent cultural element there. D͟jāḥiẓ[32] declared that the best crimson (ḳirmiz) is dyed in certain places of the land of Wāsiṭ. The Wāsiṭ curtains displayed by al-Muḳtadir bi'llāh in 305 H. (917 A.D.) for the visit of the Byzantine embassy have already been mentioned.[33] According to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* "Wāsiṭ exports gilīms, trousercords, and dyed wool." [34] Maḳdisī numbered curtains (sutūr) of Wāsiṭ among the products of Iraq,[35] and further added: "In Wāsiṭ curtains are made with 'mimmā 'umila bi-Baṣinnā' written on them, which are exported as coming from that place, but they are not like them."[36]

Ḥīra declined in Islamic times, probably because of the fact that, according to Idrīsī,[37] the population of Ḥīra and Ḳādisīya had migrated to Kufa, leaving the older cities smaller in size. Ibn Baṭūṭa[38] spoke of brocade (dībād͟j), silk (ḥarīr), and figured was͟hī-stuff as existing in Ḥīra in pre-Islamic times, but these stories seem legendary. The weavers in Ḥīra were mainly Christians. Of Nuʿmānīya, Ibn Rusta[39] said: "Ḥīra carpets (ṭinfisa) are made there, it being one of the towns of Ḥīra." Maḳdisī,[40] too, noted: "At al-Nuʿmānīya beautiful robes (aksiya) and garments (t͟hiyāb) of honey-colored wool are made."

The cosmopolitan city of Basra was settled with many races, and Balād͟hurī[41] even stated that Bukharans were settled in it by various governors, as also in Wāsiṭ. If one is to believe the boast of the ambassador to ʿAbd al-Malik (64–73 H. [683–92 A.D.]), it was early famous for its textile manufactures:

> Madā'inī said: "K͟hālid ibn Ṣafwān came on an embassy to ʿAbd al-Malik ibn Marwān, and met, at his court, embassies from all the provinces. Now Maslama had made factories (maṣāniʿ) for him (ʿAbd al-Malik), and he asked ʿAbd al-Malik to allow the embassies to go with him to those factories. Permission was granted. When Maslama inspected them, he was pleased with them, and, turning to the Meccans, he said: "Oh people of Mecca, have you any factories like this?" "No," they replied, "but we have the house of God which is used as the ḳiblah." . . . Maslama then asks each of the embassies in turn if they have such fine factories as his, till eventually he comes to the Basran envoy,

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[30] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb. Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 130.

[31] Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 384.

[32] D͟jāḥiẓ, *op. cit.,* p. 339.

[33] See p. 75.

[34] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* p. 138.

[35] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 129.

[36] *Ibid.,* p. 416 "manufacture of Baṣinnā."

[37] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* I, 366.

[38] *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), III, 209.

[39] Ibn Rusta, *op. cit.,* p. 186.

[40] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 128.

[41] Balād͟hurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), index under Wāsiṭ.

who replies: "We are the people who have the most ivory (ʿādj), teak (sādj), silk (khazz), and brocade (dībādj)."[42]

Ibn al-Faḳīh,[43] earlier than Yāḳūt quoted this phrase as having been coined in the time of Hishām, and this doubtless is the more correct version, for Maslama was the adviser to the Umayyad dynasty until the reign of this latter monarch.

The *Ḥudūd*[44] says: "Basra produces cloths (fūṭa) as well as linen and cotton stuff of high quality (djāma-hā-yi-katān-va khīsh-i-murtafiʿ)." Maḳdisī[45] cited Djāḥiẓ as quoting the "manufacture (ṣanāʿa) at Basra" as one of the remarkable things for which it is famous above all other cities, and added:

> Have you not heard of the silken stuffs (khazz) of Basra, and its cloth (bazz), of the rare and outstanding wares in it? For it is a mine of pearls and jewels, a port of the sea, and an emporium of the land, and a place for the manufacture of cinnabar (rāsukht), red lead (zindjafr), and protoxide of lead (murdāsandj). From it dates and henna are exported to all countries. They have silk (khazz), violets, and rosewater.[46]

Nāṣir-i-Khusraw[47] stated that Laḥsā weaves cloths (fūṭa) which it exports to Basra and other countries. Benjamin of Tudela[48] reported that Basra had many Jews, as one might expect in so commercial a city.

Ibn Ḳutaiba (213–*ca.* 276 H. [828–*ca.* 889 A.D.]) gave a hint at the fashion of stuffs those silks were: "Abū Ḥātim said: 'Al-ʿUtbī relates: "I have seen at Basra cloaks (burūd) sewn with the blossoms of Spring which caught the eye, and those who wore them were still more striking." ' "[49] The Mongol invasion of 656 H. (1258 A.D.) caused a gap in the history of the town, and because of the neglect of the canal system it seems to have become deserted.

Ubulla was famous for one thing only, its turbans, and many authors have mentioned them. The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* says: "From it come the Bullī kerchiefs and turbans (dastār va-ʿamāma-yi bullī)."[50] Maḳdisī stated: "In Ubulla are made garments of linen (kattān), after the manufacture of ḳaṣab (a linen stuff often decorated with gold or silver)."[51] These turbans are mentioned by Thaʿālibī,[52] Gharnāṭī,[53] and Nuwairī.[54]

The main point of interest about this group is that the three largest cities were Arab foundations with a mixed population, strongly influenced, no doubt, by the Fars-Khuzistan group, itself largely founded with prisoners from the eastern part of the Byzantine empire.

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[42] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.* I, 649. If any reliance could be placed on this passage, it would, of course, show that state factories existed in the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik.

[43] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[44] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 139.

[45] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 128 (for the second khazz, perhaps one ought to read djūr = "rosewater" which would suit the context better.

[47] Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma,* ed. and trans. by C. Schefer (Paris, 1881), text, p. 83, trans., p. 228.

[48] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), p. 51.

[49] Ibn Ḳutaiba al-Dinawarī, *ʿUyūn al-Akhbār,* (Cairo, 1343 H. [1925 A.D.]), I, 217. See E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting, XIIth–XVIIth Century* (London, 1929), Pl. VIII.

[50] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 138.

[51] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[52] Thaʿālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[53] "Le *Tuḥfat al-Albāb* de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-Gharnāṭī," *Journ. asiatique,* CCVII (1925), 211.

[54] Nuwairī, *op. cit.*, I, 356.

Information about this area is meager, but the trousercords of Ṭīb, compared to the Armenian kind, might thus ultimately trace back their origin to the latter province, both as regards design and technique.[55]

The Iraq silks were always famous, and the *Aghānī*[56] states that Mus‘ab ibn Zubair sent to ‘Umar ibn Abī Rabī‘a garments of the figured washī-stuffs and khazz-silk of Iraq, about the middle of the first century of the Hijra. The *Aghānī* also refers to the silken robes of Iraq in the governorship of al-Ḥadjdjādj (the first century H.).[57] The products of Iraq were exported far and wide, miṭraf cloaks, tents (surādiḳāt), and Dja‘farī silk (khazz) being noted in a present made to al-Nāṣir, the Umayyad caliph in Spain during the year 327 H. (939 A.D.).[58] The Fatimids, too, stored silks from Iraq in their treasuries, and *The Arabian Nights*[59] mentions silken hair strings (djadā’il al-sha‘r) of Iraqi silk (al-ḥarīr al-‘Irāḳī), probably referring to the Mameluke period.

NORTHERN MESOPOTAMIA

There are several villages in the vicinity of Baghdad where various types of cloth were woven. Yāḳūt's *Encyclopaedia* records: "In Ḥarbā coarse cotton garments which are taken to other lands, are woven.[60]. . . In Ḥaẓīra the garments of close-woven muslin (kirbās) textiles which merchants carry to other lands, are woven."[61] The most curious notice is to be found in Ya‘ḳūbī: "In Nahrawān are made the carpets (fursh) of which Armenian stuff is manufactured, and then they are taken to Armenia and spun and woven there."[62]

Of Anbār, a Sasanian arsenal from the time of Shāpūr II (310–79 A.D.), Idrīsī[63] asserted that they made stuffs for export. This is the sole reference to a city where it is virtually certain that there were many cloth factories. Maḳdisī[64] reported that Takrīt is the home of workers in wool, numbering the wool of Takrīt among the special products of Iraq. Idrīsī[65] added that most of the inhabitants were Christians.

Jazira was very closely connected with Armenia, and probably strongly influenced by the Armenian types of textiles, which were exported downstream to Baghdad and Persia.

Mosul, the capital, has always been a celebrated weaving center. Djāḥiẓ[66] stated that curtains (sutūr) and striped robes (musūḥ[67]) came from Mosul. The *Laṭā’if al-Ma‘ārif*,[68] too, mentions the curtains of Mosul in a long list of fine stuffs. In a story set in the reign of Rashid, *The Arabian Nights*[69] makes mention of a turban, as worn by the viziers, except that it was of the Mosul kind, and, again,[70] in Baghdad, of a Mosul izār (woman's cloak) of silk, with a gold-embroidered shoe, with a border (ḥāshiya) of ḳaṣab and a cord hanging loose.

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[55] R. Pfister, "Les Premières soies sassanides," *Études d'orientalisme publiées par le Musée Guimet à le mémoire de Raymonde Linossier* (Paris, 1932), pp. 461–79.

[56] *Aghānī*, IX, 244.

[57] *Ibid.*, VI, 35.

[58] Maḳḳarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagnes*, ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855–61), I, 229–31. See the note on Dja‘farī in Chapter XVII.

[59] *The Arabian Nights*, trans. by E. W. Lane (New York, 1927), pp. 362–63. *Alf Laila wa-Laila* (Beyrouth, 1914), II, 222.

[60] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 235. Repeated in Yāḳūt, *Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā‘*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll (Leyden, 1850–64), p. 295.

[61] Yāḳūt, *Mu‘djam al-Buldān*, II, 292.

[62] Ya‘ḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), VII, 322.

[63] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, II, 469.

[64] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, pp. 197 and 128.

[65] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 147.

[66] Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

[67] The editor of the *Tabaṣṣur* cited Ibn Sīda, saying that the misḥ is a striped robe (kisā’ mukhaṭṭaṭ).

[68] Tha‘ālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

Marco Polo stated: "All the cloths of gold and silk that are called Mosolins are made in this country; and these great merchants called Mosolins who carry for sale such quantities of spicery and pearls, and the cloths of silk and gold, are also from this kingdom."[71] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī (1005 H. [1596 A.D.]) said: "At Mosul 'boucassins' (Būghāṣī) of great price, are made .... the black stuffs of Mosul are quite lovely."[72]

Of Mardīn, Ibn Baṭūṭa observed: "They make stuffs here which take the name of the town, and which are made with wool (ṣūf) known as mirʿizz (a name given to the finest goathair)."[73] Niṣibīn, too, belongs to this group. Masʿūdi mentioned that Roman prisoners were settled in Niṣibīn and Manūt, and curtains (sutūr) and carpeting (fursh) are made there to this day.[74] Ibn Ḥawḳal[75] commented that it had cotton and Idrīsī,[76] that it had many industries, notably the manufacture of beautiful stuffs.

Ra's al-ʿAin, according to Iṣṭakhrī,[77] mostly produced and exported cotton. "To Ḥazza are ascribed the Naṣāfī cloths of Ḥazza, which are inferior cotton cloths," said Yāḳūt.[78] Ḥarrān, too, produced cotton, according to Maḳdisī.[79]

Yāḳūt[80] cited Ibn Ḳutaiba as speaking of a Manbidjī robe, while Abu'l-Fidā' said that most of its trees were mulberries for the silk (ḳazz).[81] ʿArābān, said Ibn Ḥawḳal,[82] "has much cotton, garments of this material being brought from it and despatched to Syria (Sha'm)."

The port of the province was Djazīra ibn ʿUmar (Zabdicena), of which Idrīsī[83] wrote: "Djazīra ibn ʿUmar is an emporium for trade with Armenia and the Armenian country of Maiyafāriḳain and Arzan. It is there that the ships laden with merchandise for Mosul stop."

Mustawfī's[84] list of cotton-growing towns in this region comprises Irbīl, Bāṣabda, Arzan, Ra's al-ʿAin, Barṭallā, Mardīn.

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[69] *The Arabian Nights*, trans. by Lane, p. 44.

[70] *Ibid.*, p. 110.

[71] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, trans. and annotated by H. Yule (London, 1875), I, 62.

[72] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *Scheref Nameh ou Fastes de la nation kourde*, trans. by F. B. Charmoy (St. Petersburg, 1868–75), I, 224.

[73] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, II, 143f.

[74] Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, II, 185–86. Cf. Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb*, p. 428: the curtains of Niṣibīn (sutūr). Ibn Baṭūṭa (*op. cit.*, II, 388) confirmed this name, but if the *Muʿdjam* (II, 469) is followed, one should read Baṣinnā and Mattūth, both in Khuzistan.

[75] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

[76] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, II, 150.

[77] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 74.

[78] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 263.

[79] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

[80] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 655; and Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 277.

[81] Abu'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, text, pp. 270–71.

[82] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

[83] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, II, 153.

[84] Hamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 102–5.

CHAPTER IV

ṬIRĀZ CITIES IN KHUZISTAN

At the head of the Persian Gulf lies the small but very important province of Khuzistan, a textile manufacturing center in no way inferior to the great Tinnīs-Damietta group of factories in Egypt, and containing one of the most eminent of all cities, Tustar, which at one period in its history manufactured the covering for the Kaaba. Like the Tinnīs and Damietta stuffs, Tustar (or Shustar) materials occur frequently in historical works and seem to have been almost universally worn by the moneyed classes. In style they were not unlike the Egyptian textiles, and this may have been due to the fact that the district was settled with prisoners of war from eastern Byzantium, which area probably also exerted the same influence on Egyptian textiles. The situation of this little province on the great Baghdad–China trade route must have extended the range of its influence and facilitated the diffusion of its products to all quarters of the Islamic world (Map 1; see also Map 2 of Chapter III).

Ahwāz, the capital of the province, seems to have possessed no ṭirāz factory, but rather to have been the collecting center for all the manufactures of the province. Maḳdisī [1] called it the "storehouse (khizāna) of Basra," where "silks (khazz) and brocades are collected, and goods and merchandise are brought. It is an emporium and place for the meeting of merchants." He added [2] that "beautiful cloths (fūṭa) of silk (ḳazz), which women wear, are made in al-Ahwāz." The *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* [3] tells that "the silk (khazz) of Sūs and the brocade of Tustar are some of the precious things attributed to Ahwāz." The town was known as Sūḳ al-Ahwāz (the "Market" of Ahwāz) to the Arabs, a tribute to its commercial importance. Ḳazwīnī [4] went so far as to say: "You will find there no science, culture, or fine craft (al-ṣanā'i' al-sharīfa)." In Egypt the term "sharīf" is used to describe the ṭirāz factories (al-'amal al-sharīf). Djāḥiẓ [5] is the earliest author to mention that silken brocade (dībādj al-khazz) comes from it.

The seaport of Khuzistan and of Fars was Mahrūbān, whence merchandise of Khuzistan was exported to Basra. It grew flax and exported it to the surrounding countries, according to Ibn al-Balkhī.[6]

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[1] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio Imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 411.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 416.

[3] Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 426, reading ديباج تستر for ديباج تسر. Though a badly edited text, this contains some interesting variants from the author's *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867).

[4] Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 102.

[5] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Ḥasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 345.

A few general remarks are made about the province by the anonymous author of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*[7] who said that it produces "manifold textiles, curtains (parda-hā), sūzandjird (textiles), trousercords (shalvārband)." Maḳdisī[8] added that "its cloth (bazz) is brocade (dībādj), khazz-silk, fine cotton, and ḳazz-silk."[9]

TUSTAR

Thaʿālibī[10] stated that "Shapur Dhu 'l-Aktāf fell on the inhabitants of Sindjār, Buṣrā, Ṭuwāna, and Āmid, and took a great many prisoners, some of whom he established at Tustar, some at Sūs, making them become weavers of brocade and khazz-silk there." Yāḳūt[11] differed slightly:

> They say that Sābūr Dhu 'l-Aktāf raided Jazira and Āmid and other Roman towns and transported some of the inhabitants and settled them in the districts of Khuzistan. They multiplied and lived in those places so that, from that time, the Tustar brocade and other kinds of silk (ḥarīr) came to Tustar, and khazz-silk was brought to Sūs, and curtains, and drapery (farsh) to Baṣinnā and Mattūth, up to the present day. God alone knows whether this be true.[12]

Ḳazwīnī[13] also quoted this passage, adding that "the crafts (ṣanāʾiʿ) of Rūm appeared in Tustar."

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim[14] talked of Tustar seats (maḳāʿid), the material apparently being used as upholstery. Ibn al-Faḳīh[15] said that "the inhabitants of Sūs in particular, and Djundaishāpūr, are skilled in the manufacture of various kinds of silken and brocade garments, as are the inhabitants of Tustar." Miskawaihī noted that "Muḳtadir's mother (*ca.* 300 H. [912 A.D.]) has boxes containing embroideries (washī) and brocade of Rūm and Tustar, heavily adorned

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[6] Ibn al-Balkhī, "Description of the Province of Fars. . . . ," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.* (1912). Also as a separate volume in Asiatic Society Monographs, No. 14, pp. 63–64.

[7] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, trans. V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., xi, 130.

[8] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

[9] Henceforth the word "brocade" will represent dībādj unless stated to the contrary. Al-Muṭarrizī (Nāṣir b. Abd al-Saiyid) defined it thus: "Dībādj—the cloth (thawb), the warp (sadā), and woof (luḥma) of which are ibrīsm-silk . . . . on the authority of al-Nakhaʿī it is related that he possessed a brocaded head scarf (ṭailasān mudabbadj), i.e., with its edges ornamented (munaḳḳash), decorated (muzaiyana) with brocade." Al-Mughrib fī Tartīb al-Muʿrib (Ḥaidarābād, 1328 H. [1910 A.D.]), I, 173. Reference supplied by M. Minovi.

[10] Thaʿālibī, *Histoire des rois des perses*, ed. and trans. by H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1900), p. 530.

[11] Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 496.

[12] Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), II, 185–86, and in a parallel passage mentions Niṣibīn and Manūt. Yāḳūt was doubtless correct, and calligraphic confusion easily explains Masʿūdī's text. See Chapter III, n. 74.

[13] *Ibid*, II, 114.

[14] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 36.

[15] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 253.

(muthaḳḳal) with gold, carpets of leather, striped silks (khazz-raḳm), and brocade."[16] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi said: "In Tustar are made Tustar garments, that is to say mantles (malāḥif)."[17]

Ibn Taghrībirdī reported that in the year 301 H. (913-14 A.D.), "the governor (Ahmed al-Rāsibī) of the territory of Wāsiṭ to Djundaishāpūr, and from Sūs to Shahrazūr died. He had eighty ṭirāz factories in which garments were made for his apparel."[18] It seems that even as early as this the great governors had more or less complete control over the ṭirāz factories. When he died, al-Rāsibī, according to Yāḳūt, left among other treasures:

> Eighteen robes, consisting of garments woven (mansūdj) with gold, the price of each being 300 dinars. Of the various kinds of robes (kiswa), those worth 20,000 dinars. Of the various kinds of carpet (fursh), those which cost 10,000 dinars.[19]

This governor resided at Dūr, and it is very likely that some of the precious garments came from Tustar.

Iṣṭakhrī (340 H. [951 A.D.]) remarked a very important innovation in Tustar: "Now, as for Tustar, it is there that the brocade which is carried all over the world, is made. The sultan (Mu'izz al-Dawla) has a ṭirāz-factory there."[20] The Kaaba covering can only have been made here for a very short time, however, for Ibn Ḥawḳal (367 H. [978 A.D.]) said:

> In Tustar the brocade is made which is taken to the whole world. The cover of the Kaaba, the Sacred House, used to be made there until the Sultan became poverty-stricken and was prevented from so doing. The obligation on his part thus fell into desuetude. Every king of Iraq used to have a ṭirāz-factory there, and a representative (ṣāḥib).[21]

The manufacture of the Kaaba covering at Shustar must have been introduced before the memory of Iṣṭakhrī, or he would surely have described how and when it first came to be made there. I have suggested elsewhere that the coverings were first made in Tustar by the regent al-Muwaffaḳ. Doubtless in the age of the decline of the Abbasid caliphate, the Egyptian Fatimids sent their own coverings.

Tanūkhī[22] often mentioned these Tustar stuffs, telling that Mu'izz al-Dawla sat on a "fine new seat (dast) of brocade which he had had made in Tustar, and which had cost him 2,000 dinars." Again, Tanūkhī recorded that garments and fine turbans ('imāma)[23] used to be made there and that one day al-Ṣāḥib ibn ʿAbbād put on a turban with a broad ṭirāz border of the manufacture of Tustar. He said that a Dabīḳī robe of Shustar cost two hundred dinars (ḳamīṣ Dabīḳī Shustarī). Whether this type of cloth is a copy of the Egyptian kind of Tinnīs-Damietta, or whether it is just a linen cloth of a similar variety, is impossible to say.

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[16] Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate,* ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), I, 244.

[17] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 267. Malāḥif is perhaps better translated as "shoulder-wrappers," "blankets" or "quilts."

[18] Ibn Taghrībirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-Ẓāhira,* ed. T. W. J. Juynboll and B. F. Mattes (Leyden, 1855–61), II, 192. Cf. 'Arīb, *Ṭabarī continuatus,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1897), pp. 44–45, which adds, "in which garments of khazz-silk, etc., were woven."

[19] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* II, 616.

[20] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum. . . .,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 92.

[21] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna. . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 175. See al-Muwaffaḳ in Chapter II, Pt. 1.

[22] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge,* ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth, Oriental Trans. Fund (London, 1921), trans. p. 162.

[23] Tanūkhī, *op. cit.,* text p. 29, trans. p. 31, but I suspect that one should read Dabīḳī shuḳairī, "red Dabīḳī cloth" for Dabīḳī Shustarī.

Maḳdisī called these garments "Marvian," a term used very loosely by Arab writers: "From Tustar beautiful brocade is brought, carpets (anmāṭ), and beautiful Marvian garments." [24] He added: "Tustar is a mine for every skilled workman in the art of manufacturing brocade and cotton. Opposites come together here. . . . Many special products (of various countries) come to it from both East and West." It had two sets of cloth markets in his time.[25]

The *Laṭāʾif al-Maʿārif* [26] (430 H. [1037 A.D.]) has heard of no decline in its production: "It has a ṭirāz-factory of splendid brocades. It is specially renowned for Rūmī (Byzantine) brocades." Idrīsī showed where the manufacture of Kaaba coverings was transferred: "At Tustar they make beautiful silk stuffs. It was from the workshops of this town that the covering of the Kaaba used to come. In our days they make this stuff in Iraq whence it is sent to Mecca every year." [27] Mustawfī,[28] after the Mongol conquest, mentioned its cotton growing. In the early nineteenth century cloth was still made there and was remarked on by the English traveler Buckingham.

One of the fullest descriptions of the style of the textiles made in Shustar is given in a work written at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the *Tadhkira-i-Shūstarīya*, which, of course, draws on early sources:

> Moreover the weaving of brocade is carried on, from that goat-hair (kargī [29]) which comes to Djawzaḳ Ḳalblab in autumn, of a higher quality than silk (ḥarīr) and finer. They adorn it with gold and silver ṭirāz designs (nuḳūsh) of various colors. In former times the robes (albisa) and turbans (ʿimāma) of kings were all made of this. Shūstarī brocade (dībā) was proverbial among contemporary poets and men of taste. ʿAbd al-Wāsiʿ Djabalī, who was a silver-tongued orator, in panegyrics of the Sultan Sandjar and others, compared every flowering plant of spring, the dewy freshness on the cheek of his mistress, and the furnishings of the mighty monarch's audience chamber to Shūstarī brocade. In a panegyric on Sultan ʿAbd al-Ṣamad he says:
>
> "Each day he composes in thine honour a poem of praise, adorned with the colors of
> Shūstarī brocade."
>
> In another place he has said:

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[24] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 409.

[26] Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-Maʿārif*, p. 107.

[27] Idrīsī, *Géographie*, trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 383.

[28] Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, trans. by G. le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden–London, 1919), XXIII, II, 108.

[29] Saiyid ʿAbd Allāh al-Shūshtarī, *Tadhkira-i-Shūshtar*, ed. Maula Bakhsh and M. Hidayet Husain, Bibliotheca Indica (Calcutta, 1914), pp. 7–8.

> "Sometimes she would don a veil of hyacinth over painted Chinese silk (parniyān).
> Sometimes she would knot an amber veil over a piece of embroidered cloth of S͟hūstar (ṭirāz-i-S͟hūstar)." [30]

Minūčihrī of the Seljuk period is full of references to many kinds of cloth, and S͟hustar stuffs figure frequently in his verses. Some conception of their richness may be formed from the comparisons which he used:

> Thou wouldst say that they had opened the door of Paradise to this palace.
> All the upper part was of Rūmī brocade, and all the lower part was covered by S͟hūstar stuffs (kālā-i-S͟hūstar).

Elsewhere he said:

> The garden desolates a hundred factories (kārgāh) of S͟hūstar, and the plain would close a hundred factories of Tibet (by the beauty of the flowers growing upon it).
>
> This white lily which has blossomed in the garden has one branch of silver and one of gold. You would say that it was a brocade shirt of Tustar, the outside of an indigo-blue color, and the lining of ivory.[31]

SŪS

Sūs like Tustar was a center of royal manufactures long before Muslim times. Shapur II (309–79 A.D.) had the town stamped down by elephants and refounded with Roman prisoners as seen above. It was the capital of one of the seven districts of Khuzistan.

In the *Dīwān* of Ḳais al-Ruḳaiyāt, there is a poem in praise of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz ibn Marwān,[32] in which ladies are mentioned wearing "silk of Sūs (k͟hazz), and red silks (iḍrīd͟j), separated by strips of white silk (saraḳ)." Sulaimān, the Umayyad caliph, too, called for green Sūsī garments which seem to have consisted of a green cloak (ḥulla), and a green turban (ʿimāma), all this about the year 99 H. (717 A.D.).[33] The *Kitāb al-Muwas͟hs͟hā* [34] numbers Sūs miṭraf cloaks as one of the stuffs worn by the elegant, while D͟jāḥiẓ [35] found that coverings (d͟jilāl) and saddle cloths (or cushions barād͟hiʿ) came from that city. Ibn al-Faḳīh and Masʿūdī have already been quoted, but the latter further added that the Caliph Muʿtaḍid (279–89 H. [892–902 A.D.]) told the keepers of the wardrobe (k͟huzzān) to reserve the Sūsī and Dabīḳī stuffs for his own personal use.[36]

Iṣṭak͟hrī stated: "In Sūs are made silks (k͟huzūz) which are despatched to all lands from it. . . . In Sūs, the Sultan (Muʿizz al-Dawla) has a ṭirāz-factory." [37] Ibn Ḥawḳal and Maḳdisī added little: "In Sūs heavy silks (khuzūz thaḳīla) are made and taken to all parts."[38] The latter said: "From Sūs come cloth (bazz) and silk (khazz). . . . One of their special products is the khazz-silk of Sūs with the exception of the turbans, because the soft cloth (sakb) of Kufa has no peer."[39] The contemporary of Maḳdisī who wrote the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* called it "the emporium of Khuzistan. It produces textiles and turbans of precious silk stuff (djāma va 'amāma-yi khaz)."[40] The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* says: "In Sūs is a ṭirāz factory of precious kingly silks" (khazz mulūkī—a name which is applied to other stuffs bearing the ṭirāz inscription).[41] Finally, Idrīsī[42] remarked that "in the town they make all kinds of silk stuffs which are exported into foreign countries and as far as the extremities of Khurasan."

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[30] Reading kargī for karkī. See J. A. Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum Etymologicum* (Bonn, 1855–67).

[31] A. de Biberstein Kazimirsky, *Menoutchehri, poète persan du 11ème siècle de notre ère* (Paris, 1886), text pp. 57 and 125. Cf. ʿArīb, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

[32] "Der Dîwân des ʿUbaid-Allâh ibn Ḳais ar-Ruḳajjât," ed. and trans. by N. Rhodokanakis, *Sitzungsber. d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. Wien.*, CXLIV (1902), 265, No. lxiii, verse 8.

[33] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), Ser. II, III, 1337.

[34] Al-Was͟hs͟hā', *Kitāb al-Muwas͟hs͟hā*, ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124.

[35] D͟jāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, p. 347.

[36] Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, VIII, 115.

[37] Iṣṭak͟hrī, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

The city gradually became deserted in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and the remains have been examined by a French expedition.

ḲURḲŪB

The following notices on the manufactures in Ḳurḳūb have been found. Ṭabarī[43] under the annals for the year 144 H. (761 A.D.) spoke of a coarse shirt (ḳamīṣ) and a cloak (ridā') of twisted Ḳurḳūbī. Iṣṭakhrī[44] said: "In Ḳurḳūb is the sūsandjird stuff which is carried to all regions. There, and in Sūs are ṭirāz-factories belonging to the Sultan (Mu'izz al-Dawla)." Idrīsī remarked:

> It is here that they make the painted and rayed stuff known under the name of raḳm al-Ḳurḳūbī, as well as rich brocades known as kharad[45] of so rare a beauty that they have no parallels in the universe. It is in Ḳurḳūb, as in Sūs, that they make the various stuffs designed for the clothing of princes, which are sold at so high a price.[46]

Minūčihrī often mentioned Ḳurḳūbī stuffs, usually along with those of Rum (Byzantium). They seem to have been flower-embroidered fabrics, perhaps with a green base like sundus brocade: "They have thrown down cushions (bālish) of Ḳurḳūbī in the desert and mattresses (bistar) of Būḳalamūn have been spread in the valleys."[47]

FACTORIES IN 'ASKAR, DJUNDAISHĀPŪR, AND LŪR

The references to 'Askar are to be found in Maḳdisī who said: "In the villages there are many ṭirāz-factories, especially in Mashruḳān."[48] The latter was a canal running from the Great Weir at Tustar, then back again into the Dudjail at 'Askar Mukram, and one might infer that these factories were dotted all along the course of the canal. Of 'Askar itself, he said: "From 'Askar veils (maḳāni') of ḳazz-silk are brought to Baghdad and excellent cloth (bazz) with durable qualities, garments of flax (ḳunnab), napkins (mandīl), and other things that are abundant in Ahwāz."[49] The earlier Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi[50] said that 'Askar has 'Askarī garments.

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[38] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[39] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 416–17.

[40] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 131. Cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, IV, 267, where Sūsī stuffs are also mentioned.

[41] Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 107. Cf. p. 132.

[42] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 381.

[43] Ṭabarī, *Annales.*, III, I, 168.

[44] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, 93. Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, 175. *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 131.

[45] For kharad, which does not appear in the dictionaries, read khazz.

[46] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 383. This translation is full of wide inaccuracies and must be accepted with reservations.

[47] Minūčihrī, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[48] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 410.

Maḳdisī[51] noted that the people of Djundaishāpūr have many ṭirāz factories. This city also was founded by Shapur with Greek prisoners.

The same author[52] added that in the whole district of Lūr there were many ṭirāz factories, although none of them seems to have had so high a repute as those above. The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[53] makes the surprising statement that "Īdha (the capital of Lūr) produces great quantities of brocades. There also the brocade for the cover of Mecca (parda-yi-Makka) is made." Minorsky proposed to read Tustar here for Īdha, but Idrīsī[54] said that "there are at Īdhadj various other manufactures; the cleverness and application of the workers in this town is beyond comparison."

THE BAṢINNĀ GROUP

There was another cluster of small towns or large villages in Khuzistan where inscribed garments were made, though there is no evidence to show that they were connected with the royal ṭirāz system. This group was centered round Baṣinnā, in the same part of the province as Sūs and Tustar, on the Karkheh River. These Baṣinnā stuffs, however, always seem to be mentioned in connection with the royal palaces; for instance, Muḳtadir at the close of the third century A.H. had Baṣinnā curtains[55] displayed for the visit of the Byzantine ambassador. Iṣṭakhrī[56] said:

> In Baṣinnā there are made the curtains which are taken to all regions with " 'amal Baṣinnā" (manufacture of Baṣinnā) written upon them. There are sometimes made in Birdhawn and Kalīwān and other such towns, curtains with "Baṣinnā" written on them sold as Baṣinnā curtains, but the origin is from Baṣinnā.

As in the case of Bukhara, where Zandadjī cloths took their name from the village of Zandana, though manufactured in other villages, the name was thus extended to similar weaves. Ibn Ḥawḳal[57] added: "Baṣinnā is one of the celebrated towns famed throughout the whole world, renowned for the curtains (sutūr) which are imported to every clime." The *Ḥudūd*[58] merely states that it "produces good curtains exported everywhere." Maḳdisī[59] had fresh information: "The curtains (sutūr) of Baṣinnā, and the carpets (anmāṭ) of Ḳurḳūb are well known. In the environs of Wāsiṭ, curtains are made on which there is written "mimmā 'umila bi-Baṣinnā"; these are exported as coming from that place, but they are not like them" and[60] "the men and women weave carpets and spin wool." He spoke of Baṣinnā, the curtains of which are found as far as the heavenly lote tree. Idrīsī[61] and Yāḳūt[62] copied these accounts.

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[49] *Ibid.*, p. 416.

[50] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, IV, 267.

[51] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 409.

[53] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 130.

[54] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

[55] See Chapter II.

[56] Iṣṭakhrī, *op cit.*, p. 93. The practice of faking the name of the country of origin on textiles seems to have been not uncommon, for there is a special injunction against this type of fraud in the *Madkhal* of Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (Cairo, 1348 H. [1929 A.D.], IV, 29), to be dated about 732 H. (1331–2 A.D.). Speaking of the cloth merchant, he said: "It is incumbent on him when he has pieces of cloth (khirḳa) derived from a district the cloth (ḳumāsh) of which is much sought after by the public, not to sell the cloth of another district as the manufacture of the first, even though the two districts are close to one another . . . . Analogous to this is the case of a craftsman who is good at weaving (nasadj), the public competing to put up the price of cloth (thawb) attributed to him. So let him (the merchant) not sell anything manufactured by someone else as his work, even if it be like it, or better."

[57] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

OTHER TEXTILE CITIES

Though Khuzistan contained a great many cities with ṭirāz factories, there were other villages in which no ṭirāz is mentioned. One may suspect that Dawraḳ had one of these factories, for carpets (busuṭ) and strips (ankhākh) of Dawraḳ are named as some of the fineries displayed for the Byzantine ambassador.[63] Maḳdisī[64] merely noted that it was a source of khaish, a kind of coarse cloth which was often used in tents.

Of Rāmhurmuz, Iṣṭakhrī (followed by Ibn Ḥawḳal) said: "In Rāmhurmuz are garments of ibrīsm-silk which are taken to many places."[65] Idrīsī stated that "they make various articles of merchandise here and silk destined for export."[66] The *Sharaf-nāmah*[67] mentions its fine stuffs (ḳumāsh). Rabbi Petachia noted that "at Shushan there are two (families of) Jews who are dyers."[68] This place has been identified as Sūsan on the Karun. Nahr Tīrā has several notices devoted to it; Iṣṭakhrī[69] said: "In it there are garments resembling those of Baghdad. They are taken to Baghdad, and exposed for sale as Baghdad cloth. They are bleached in Baghdad." Ibn Ḥawḳal[70] added that they are taken everywhere and that nobody suspects that they are not from Baghdad, for they are lovely. Maḳdisī[71] mentioned the large izārs (women's cloaks, or men's waist wrappers) which are made in Nahr Tīrā, and Idrīsī said that it has "many articles of commerce. They manufacture beautiful stuffs there."[72] The material in question would seem to be some plain white cloth, but further details are lacking.

After the Mongol conquest, Mustawfī[73] remarked that "Ḥawīza grows cotton, as Rāmuz (Rāmhurmuz)."

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[58] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 131.

[59] Maḳdisī., *op. cit.*, p. 416.

[60] *Op. cit.*, pp. 408 and 402.

[61] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 384.

[62] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 561 and 656; IV, 303.

[63] See Chapter II.

[64] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 412.

[65] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 93. Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

[66] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 382.

[67] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *Scheref Nameh ou Fastes de la Nation Kourde*, trans. by F. B. Charmoy (St. Petersburg, 1868–75), I, 107.

[68] A. Benish and W. F. Ainsworth, *The Travels of Rabbi Petaḥyah* (London, 1856), p. 39. The identification is open to doubt.

[69] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 93.

[70] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[71] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 416.

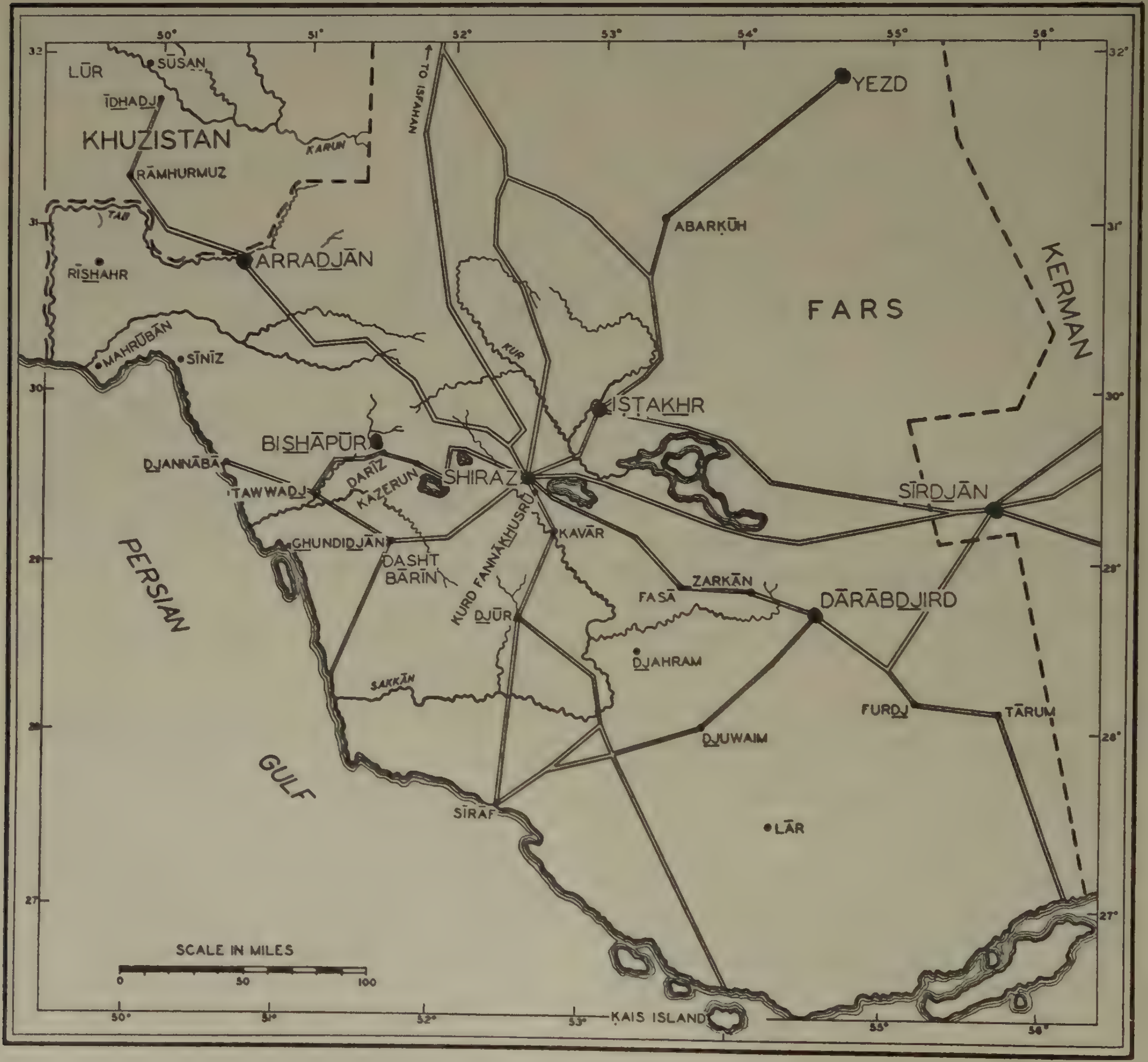
[72] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 385. Cf. *Géographie d' Aboulféda*, ed. M. Reinaud and M. Le Bon MacGuckin de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 317, quoting Ibn Ḥawḳal.

[73] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 109.

CHAPTER V

THE FARS GROUP

NEXT TO THE PROVINCE OF KHUZISTAN, AND VERY CLOSELY CONNECTED WITH IT WAS FARS, a land pre-eminent for many kinds of manufactures. Nearly every city made some special kind of cloth, and several possessed royal factories. The central position on the Persian Gulf may have encouraged the flourishing industries there. The ṭirāz cities, for the most part, lay in the southern district (Map 3).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LŪR
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KHUZISTAN
KARUN
RĀMHURMUZ
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TO ISFAHAN
YEZD
ABARKŪH
ARRADJĀN
RĪSHAHR
FARS
KERMAN
MAHRŪBĀN
SĪNĪZ
KUR
IṢTAKHR
BISHĀPŪR
DJANNĀBĀ
TAWWADJ
DARĪZ
KAZERUN
SHIRAZ
SĪRDJĀN
GHUNDIDJĀN
KAVĀR
DASHT BĀRĪN
KURD FANNĀKHUSRŪ
FASĀ
ZARKĀN
DĀRĀBDJIRD
PERSIAN
DJŪR
DJAHRAM
SAKKĀN
FURDJ
TĀRUM
DJUWAIM
GULF
SĪRĀF
LĀR
SCALE IN MILES
0
50
100
KAIS ISLAND

MAP 3—FARS

Djāḥiẓ[1] said that "the best robes (aksiya) are of Egyptian wool, then the Fars-Khuzistan kind, and the fine goat-hair (marʿazzā) in Fars, the fine Shiraz goat-hair, then the Iṣfāhānī and the fine goat-hair in the ibrīsm-silk of Fasā, then the Ṭabarī kind."

The *Ḥudūd*[2] says that "it produces manifold textiles (djāmah) of linen (kattān), wool, cotton, carpets, rugs (bisāṭ va fursh), zīlū-rugs, and gilīm (tapestry-woven carpets)." Maḳdisī[3] reported that "in it are made the mantles (abrād), silks (khazz), and art carpets (al-busuṭ al-ṣanīʿa),[4] cloth (bazz), wonderful garments (aksiya), curtains (sutūr), linen garments (thiyāb al-kattān) resembling ḳaṣab,[5] brocade, and various kinds of striped robes (ḥulla)."

Though the *Djirāb al-Dawla* does not mention any textiles in the kharādj (annual tax) of Fars, Thaʿālibī[6] said that every year there used to be brought to the caliphs, according to the custom of carrying the special products of the province along with its tribute, thirty thousand bottles (ḳārūra) of Djūrī rose water, five thousand garments of the Tawwazī kind, and two hundred robes (aksiya). The same author also mentioned the robes of Fars in a list of the fine articles de luxe of the time of ʿAḍud al-Dawla.[7]

Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal both listed the ṭirāz cities of Fars, and I have thought it worth while to include the two accounts here, though the differences are but trifling for the most part. The former[8] said:

> From Sīnīz, Djannābā, Kāzirūn, and Tawwadj, garments of linen are brought. In each of these places, with the exception of Kāzirūn, the sultan (ʿAḍud al-Dawla) has a ṭirāz factory. These garments are taken to the utmost limits of all the countries of Islam. From Fasā are brought several kinds of garments which are exported to various districts. In it there is a ṭirāz factory for figured washī-stuff, and goat hair (shaʿr), and sūsandjird, belonging to the sultan. Now concerning the washī-stuff, the gold (mudhahhab) variety brought thence is better than that which is brought from the other provinces, while, as for the plain (ghair mudhahhab) variety, that which is produced in Djahram is better and more plentiful. As for the goat hair, the sultan is brought cloths weighing a mithḳāl (mithḳālīya),[9] which fetch a high price, and expensive veils (or curtains, kilāl), as well as

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[1] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Ḥasan H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 337.

[2] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 126.

[3] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (= *B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed. 1906), III, 420.

[4] Thus in A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam,* trans. by Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1937).

[5] Ḳaṣab was not essentially an Egyptian stuff though manufactured extensively there. The Sasanian monarchs used it as a tent cloth as did the Umayyads who followed them. The Abbasid, Manṣūr, was the first to use khaish instead. It probably came from this area. See Ṭabarī, *Annales,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), ser. III, I, 417–18.

[6] Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-Maʿārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 109.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 132.

[8] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum. . . .,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 152.

[9] The Glossary to the *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* suggests the sense of muthaḳḳala here, meaning perhaps "reinforced with gold," i.e., brocaded or embroidered with gold, but emendation of the text is not necessary. Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ḳārī of Yazd mentioned mithḳālī in his *Dīwān-i Albisa* (Constantinople, 1303 H. [1885–6 A.D.]), p. 14.

other kinds of goat hair weaves (shaʿr). For the sultan, ḳazz-silk curtains are made with borders (sutūr muʿlama); garments of silk and goat hair (shaʿr), exported to many of the provinces of Islam, are sent from here. The sūsandjird found there is more precious than that of Ḳurḳūb, Tawwadj, and Tārum. In it are to be found silken robes (aksiya) that fetch a very high price. From Djahram are brought expensive garments of washī, carpets (busuṭ), carpet strips (nakhkh), prayer carpets (muṣallayāt), and large carpets (zullīya), which are known as Djahramī. From Yezd and Abarḳūh are brought cotton garments that are exported to all the provinces. From Ghundidjān, capital of Dasht Bārīn, are brought carpets (busuṭ), curtains (sutūr), and cushions (maḳʿad), which the Armenian manufacture cannot equal. It is carried to all countries. The sūsandjird of Fasā is preferable to the sūsandjird of Ḳurḳūb only because the Ḳurḳūbī variety is ibrīsm-silk, and this wool is better than ibrīsm-silk in manufacture.

Ibn Ḥawḳal's account reads:

> From Shīnīz are brought Shīnīzī garments, from Djannābā, Djannābī kerchiefs (mindīl), and from Tawwadj, Tawwazī garments, which kind has no similar type in the world, though there are more valuable ones. In every district of it the sultan (ʿAḍud al-Dawla) has a ṭirāz factory. . . . From Fasā various kinds of garments are brought which are carried to the most distant places. There is a ṭirāz for the precious washī-robes the like of which is not to be found in any other district when golden (mudhahhab); when it is plain it is like that of Djahram and elsewhere. For the sultan and for merchants there are made in wool textiles for upholstery (fursh), which fetch a great price, and valuable curtains (or veils, kilāl) of all kinds of silk (ḥarīr). For the sultan there are also made curtains of a kind marked with round circles and with borders (sutūr muʿaiyana muʿlama) of ḳazz-silk and of wool, which are taken to other provinces; the sūsandjird to be found there is more valuable than that in Ḳurḳūb and Tawwadj, and Tārum. In it are to be found robes (aksiya) of ḳazz-silk that are sold at the most overwhelming prices, such as a hundred dinars and so on. From Djahram carpets of valuable washī figured stuff are brought, and the carpets (busuṭ), carpet strips (nakhākh), prayer carpets (muṣallayāt), and large carpets (zullīya) are renowned throughout the world.
>
> From Yezd and Abarḳūh are brought cotton garments, which are taken to all districts, and from Ghundidjān, the caital of Dasht Bārīn, are brought carpets (busuṭ), curtains (sutūr), and cushions (maḳʿad), which are taken to all regions, and which the manufacture of Armenia cannot equal. There is a ṭirāz factory of the sultan in it, and much is exported thence to various districts. The sūsandjird of Fasā is better than the sūsandjird of Ḳurḳūb, because the base (or material matāʿ) is of wool, and the Ḳurḳūbī is of ibrīsm-silk and wool, wool being stronger (aḥkam) for use in manufacture.[10]

More passages on this sūsandjird, a stuff which has already been the subject of a separate work by a well-known orientalist,[11] might be quoted. Masʿūdī [12] told a seemingly apocryphal story about a patrician of Constantinople in Muʿāwiya's time, who asked a Tyrian preparing to return to Damascus to buy for him some "sūsandjird carpets (bisāṭ) along with cushions

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[10] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna. . . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 212.

[11] J. von Karabaček, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird.* (Leipzig, 1881). This work, however, does not throw much illumination on the subject.

[12] Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), VIII, 80.

(mikhadda) and pillows (wasīda) of the same material, containing the colors red, blue, etc., and that it should be of such and such a description." The sūsandjird carpet of Mustanṣir's time has already been discussed in the first chapter. It is quite possible that the stuff sūsandjird did exist under that name in Mu'āwiya's time, though the story itself is unreliable. The *Aghānī*[13] gives a very early date for the existence of this stuff:

> I entered the presence of al-Faḍl ibn al-Rabī' when he was sitting on a large sūsandjird carpet (bisāṭ) of satin (satīnī), embroidered with gold (mudhahhab) and glistening, upon which there was written "mimmā amara bi-ṣinā'atihi Ḥammād 'Adjrad" ("What Ḥammād 'Adjrad ordered to be made"). He (the vizier) said to me: "Do you know who Ḥammād 'Adjrad was?" I said: "No." "Ḥammād 'Adjrad was the governor of that district," he replied, and fell silent.

This vizier was Harun al-Rashid's chief minister during the latter half of the second century of the Hijra.

During the Buwaihid period, the decline of the caliphate had become so complete that the sultan had arrogated the use of the ṭirāz to his own person. As has been seen, in Baghdad, the ṭirāz became an appanage of the Buwaihid palaces, and later of the Seljuk rulers. The Muslim authors have a great deal to say about the ṭirāz cities of Fars, which fall into two main groups, the western group situated on, or near the coast, comprising Sīnīz, Djannābā, Tawwadj, Kāzirūn, and Ghundidjān, as opposed to the eastern inland group of Djahram, Tārum, and Fasā.

Ibn al-Faḳīh[14] (290 H. [903 A.D.]) numbered Kazeruni garments among the products of Fars, while Iṣṭakhrī[15] took care to mention that it did not have a ṭirāz, but added: "Now as regards the people of Kazerun and Fasā, etc., they are traders, and I have never known any city, by land or sea where there were people of Fars, but they were the notables of that city."

Maḳdisī[16] considered it so prominent a place that he said: "Kazerun is thickly populated and large. It is the Damietta of the Persians, and that is because the linen garments which are of the same make as ḳaṣab, resembling the Shaṭawī (from Shaṭā, in the Tinnīs-Damietta group), even if they are of cotton ('uṭb), are made and sold there, with the exception of what is made in Tawwadj." He further said: "From Kazerun garments of ḳaṣab come, and the same from Tawwaz, Darīz, and those districts, as well as Dabīḳī, and napkins with a velvety surface (manādīl mukhmala), which are carried to the eight quarters of the world, but there is a great difference between them and the Shaṭawī type."

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[13] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī*. (Cairo, 1927–36), V, 371. Since the above passage was written I have found in Ṭabarī, (*op. cit.*, III, I, 416) another extract which tells us that the Abbasid, Manṣūr, deposed a governor of a district in Syria, among whose effects a prayer carpet (muṣallā) of sūsandjird was found in the year 158 H. (774–75 A.D.).

[14] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 254.

[15] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[16] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, pp. 433–34 and 442–43. Yellow garments of ḳaṣab are mentioned by Tanūkhī (*Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth, text, p. 146), in al-Rāḍī's wardrobe.

It is Ibn al-Balkhī, however, who has the fullest account of the manufactures there:

> The cloths called Tūzī (Tawwazī), which they make there are woven from the fiber of the flax plant. Of this, first they tie up the fibrous stalks in bundles and throw them into a tank full of water, leaving the fiber being separated out, and the flax is then spun into linen thread. Next, this linen is washed in the water of the Rāhbān water channel, and though the water is but scanty, it has the property of making white the linen thread that is washed in it, and if it be washed in any other water it never becomes so white. Now this Rāhbān water channel is the property of the royal treasury, and the custom is now established that the profit thereof belongs to the house of the emir, the treasury having granted the usage thereof to the weavers who weave cloths under the orders of the treasury. There is an inspector who oversees on behalf of the treasury, and there are the brokers who set a just price on the cloth, sealing the bales with a stamp before they are delivered over to the foreign merchants. In times past it was all after this wise. The brokers would make up the bales of the Kāzirūnī cloth, the foreign merchants would come and buy the bales as they stood thus made up, for they placed reliance on the brokers, and in any city to which they were carried the certificate of the Kāzirūnī broker was merely asked for and the bales would then be sold at a profit without being opened (for examination). Thus it would often happen that a load of Kāzirūnī bales would pass from hand to hand ten times over, unopened. But now, in these latter days, fraud has become rife, and the people becoming dishonest, all confidence is gone, for the goods with the treasury stamp are often found deficient, whereby foreign traders have come to avoid the merchandise of Kāzirūn. The fraud was especially common during the reign of the Emir Abū Sa'd, whose bad government and tyranny were manifest to all.[17]

This latter ruler was in Fars, at the end of the Buwaihid period from which time the custom of sealing the bales with the treasury stamp may date.

Yāḳūt[18] used the same source as Maḳdisī: "Bashshārī said . . . 'It is the Damietta of the Persians. That is because linen garments of the manufacture of ḳaṣab, resembling the Shaṭawī, even if they are cotton (ḥaṭb) are made and sold there, except that which is made in Tawwadj. . . . In it are many brokers and broad markets.'" Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī,[19] after the conquest, copying Ibn al-Balkhī stated: "Much cotton is produced here, and muslin stuffs of Kazerun are exported to all parts being of many kinds; some linen too is made. Most of these Kazerun stuffs, unless they be washed in the waters of the Rāhbān watercourse do not retain their freshness."

Between Kazerun and the seacoast lay Tawwadj, from which the Kazeruni textiles derived their name, if not indeed their original prototype according to the extract of Ibn al-

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[17] Ibn al-Balkhī, "Description of the Province of Fars. . . . ," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.* Also as a separate volume in *Asiatic Soc. Monographs*, No. 14, 55–57. Cf. the passage on the preparation of flax from Ibn 'Awwām, cited in Chapter XXII.

[18] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), IV, 225. Cf. Ḳazwīnī in *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 162.

[19] Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 125.

Balk͟hī. Dj̲āḥiẓ[20] said: "From Fars come Sābirī linen garments of Tawwad̲j̲." This curious phrase may perhaps imply that in these places too Sasanian types of cloth were manufactured. The *Ḥudūd*[21] says that "all the tavazī (Tawwazī) textiles come from it." The contemporary Maḳdisī[22] remarked: "Tawwaz is small of size (rasm), but great in fame by reason of the garments of linen made in it. You must know that they are named Tawwazī, but most of them are made in Kazerun, but those are more skilled and better in workmanship." The list of precious stuffs of ʿAḍud al-Dawla's reign quoted by T̲h̲aʿālibī[23] includes the Tawwazī garments of Tawwad̲j̲.

Yāḳūt gave the fullest account of its manufactures:

> There are made in Tawwad̲j̲ linen garments which are called after it. Now most of this type is manufactured at Kazerun, but the name Tawwad̲j̲ is generally applied to it because the people of Tawwad̲j̲ are more skilled in its manufacture. It is a fine cloth of light delicate weave (muhalhal al-nasad̲j̲), as if it were fine sieve-cloth (munk͟hal), but its colors are lovely, and it has golden ṭirāz borders, a piece being sold for a sum of money. The people of Khurasan used to seek after it, and a large export trade to them was carried on. Sometimes there is made an excellent close-woven kind which sells well. It is a small town but its fame is great.[24]

After the Mongol conquest Abu'l-Fidā'[25] mentioned the Tawwazī stuff of Tawwad̲j̲, quoting no authorities.

Next to Tawwad̲j̲, on the Persian Gulf was the city of D̲j̲annābā. The *Kitāb al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā*[26] mentions "shirts (ḳamīṣ) of excellent linen, soft and pure of color, such as Dabīḳī and D̲j̲annābī." Ibn al-Faḳīh[27] cited D̲j̲annābī stuffs as one of the most famous products of Fars, and Ibn Ḥawḳal[28] said: "It is a town in which there are ṭirāz factories of linen of more than one kind, with abundant merchandise." The trade seems to have disappeared by the time of Ibn al-Balk͟hī,[29] who said: "Nothing that need be mentioned is produced in this place."

Sulaimān[30] the merchant, and Ibn al-Faḳīh[31] had both heard of the Sīnīzī stuffs too, classing them along with those of D̲j̲annābā. Masʿūdī[32] knew of Sīnīz where the "Sīnīzī ṭirāzī garments were made, and the town of D̲j̲annābā after which the D̲j̲annābī garments were named.” Miskawaihī[33] mentioned “a shirt (ḳamīṣ) of Sīnīzī manufacture” about the year 324 H. (935 A.D.), and brief notices are to be found in other authors besides those already mentioned. Ibn Ḥawḳal[34] said: “From Sīnīz comes the Sīnīzī which is carried to all lands.”

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[20] D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[21] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 127.

[22] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 435.

[23] T̲h̲aʿālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[24] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 890.

[25] *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Arabic text by M. Reinaud and M. Le Bon MacGuckin de Slane (Paris 1840), p. 328, trans. by M. Reinaud (Paris, 1847–83), II, 96.

[26] Al-Was̲h̲s̲h̲ā', *Kitāb al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā*, ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124. See also G. Ferrand, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymân* (Paris, 1922), p. 26, for a reference dated 237 H. (851 A.D.).

[27] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 254. The text has d̲j̲ubbā'īya which is evidently wrong. Cf. Idrīsī, *Geographie*, trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 399, where Nad̲j̲āba must become D̲j̲annābā.

[28] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 185.

[29] Ibn al-Balk͟hī, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[30] Ferrand, *op. cit.*, p. 26.

[31] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

[32] Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, I, 238.

Maḳdisī suggested an Egyptian influence on this group: “From Sīnīz come garments resembling ḳaṣab; sometimes the flax (kattān) is brought to them from Egypt, but most of what is made nowadays is grown there.”[35] Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī[36] said: “They weave linen cloths here which are very thick and soft, and those are known as S̲h̲īnīzī stuffs. They do not however wear very well.” The very incorrect translation of Idrīsī[37] said:

> They make tissues of linen here know as Sinisi cloths and are estimated as much for their solidity as for their fineness; these cloths have the peculiarity that when they are placed in contact with other cloths, they do not adhere to them as is ordinarily the case with tissues of linen.

Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī,[38] after the Mongol conquest, copying Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī said: “Linen is produced, but the linen here has no wear in it.”

In addition to the notices on D̲j̲ahram already quoted, Ibn Ḥawḳal[39] mentioned: “To it is attributed the D̲j̲ahramī type of carpet (busuṭ) manufactured there, and more than one ṭirāz factory belonging to the sultan and merchants is to be found there.” This short passage makes it apparent that the ṭirāz factory textiles were not the exclusive property of the sultan. According to the *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam:* “Zīlū-rugs and good prayer-carpets”[40] were produced. Maḳdisī[41] remarked that “from D̲j̲ahram come carpets (busuṭ), curtains (sutūr), and perfectly woven carpets (anmāṭ muḥkama).” Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī[42] wrote that “much cotton is grown which is also exported. Muslin (kirbās), too, comes from here and the D̲j̲ahramī blankets (zīlū) are woven in this town.” Yāḳūt[43] knew of its fame for the manufacture of carpets (busuṭ), quoting Ru’ba ibn al-‘Ad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ (who lived from the latter half of the first century of the Hijra into the first half of the second): “Nay many a town the dust of which fills wide roads, whose cotton and D̲j̲ahram (stuff) are not to be bought.” Mustawfī[44] laconically remarked that it grows cotton. Yāḳūt merely quoted Iṣṭak̲h̲rī concerning G̲h̲undid̲j̲ān, and Mustawfī[45] said: “The people here are for the most part shoemakers and weavers.”

D̲j̲āḥiẓ’s note on the value of the Fasā garments has already been quoted, and Ibn al-Faḳīh[46] spoke of the robes (aksiya) of this town. To the accounts of Iṣṭak̲h̲rī and Ibn

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[33] Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse of the ‘Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), text, I, 347, trans., IV, 391.

[34] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed.; Leyden, 1938–39), p. 49. Cf. *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam*, p. 126.

[35] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

[36] Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[37] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 399. This translation is unreliable.

[38] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op cit.*, p. 130.

[39] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

[40] *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam*, p. 129.

[41] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

[42] Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

[43] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 167. Cf. Buṭrus al-Bustānī, *Muḥīṭ al-Muḥīṭ* (Beirut, 1286 H. [1869–70 A.D.]), I, 117, 308; and W. Wright, *Arabic Grammar* (3d ed.; Cambridge, 1933), II, 217.

[44] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 128. Cf. Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 820.

[46] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 254.

Ḥawḳal, Maḳdisī[47] added:

> From Fasā garments of ḳazz-silk, fine and beautiful robes (aksiya), carpets (anmāṭ), carpets (busuṭ), wrappers (fūṭa), munaiyar (stuff with a double woof or weft) like that of Isfahan, washī figured stuff, octagonal patterned curtains (sutūr muthammana), valuable upholstery (furūsh), ibrīsmī-silk curtains (sutūr), 'uṣfur-dye (yellow), tables (mā'ida), tents (kharkāhāt), and napkins (mindīl) of Sharābīya.[48]

These latter Sharābī (linen) napkins were of the same type doubtless as those made in Tinnīs-Damietta. This is the second textile found manufactured in both groups (the first being ḳaṣab). Many stuffs in the Fatimid treasuries from Fars and Khuzistan are mentioned by Maḳrīzī.[49]

Iṣṭakhrī's account of the ṭirāz factory at Tārum can be supplemented by a short note from Djāḥiẓ who wrote that ḳirmiz dye is found there, it being one of the few places in Persia proper where this was to be had.[50] Maḳdisī[51] mentioned its large fans (mirwaḥ), and Yāḳūt[52] said that it produces robes (aksiya) of khazz-silk which fetch a great deal of money.

A curious account of the founding of a city, and the establishment of a ṭirāz in it, perhaps typical of the same process throughout the Islamic world, is described by Maḳdisī:

> Kurd Fannākhusrū. Fannākhusrū is 'Aḍud al-Dawla who laid the foundations of a town half a parasang away from Shiraz, and dug a great canal leading to it. . . . and transported to it workers in wool (ṣawwāf), makers of (ṣunnā') khazz-silk and brocade. Every camelot mantle (barrakān) as you know, made there today, has its name written on it.[53]

He mentioned that it is nearly ruined now (375 H. [985 A.D.]).[54]

CITIES WITHOUT A ṬIRĀZ

The other manufacturing cities in Fars will be considered briefly. In the north of the province is Yezd, and as seen above, Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal mention its cotton garments, in passing, only. Perhaps it only came into prominence in the fourth century and later, for there is little information about it before Ibn al-Balkhī (500 H. [1107 A.D.]): "In the districts round, silk is produced, for the mulberry tree here is abundant. Further, they manufacture excellent cloths in brocade also, of the kind named mushṭī, farakh,[55] and the like, for in

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[47] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

[48] See Chapter XV.

[49] Such as Ḳurḳūbī, Tustarī, Djahramī. See Chapter XV.

[50] Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

[51] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442–43.

[52] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 811.

[53] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 431. Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 258, reads Kard Fannākhusrū.

[54] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 258., adds that it was founded in 354 H. (965 A.D.). By his day there was no trace of it. Cf. Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, II.

[55] Ibn al-Balkhī, *op. cit.*, p. 20. Le Strange added in a footnote that mushṭī is a stuff made in Nishapur. Mushṭ is a weaver's instrument apparently, a "comb," and the name doubtless came to be applied like the term "ḥaffī" to stuffs made in Nishapur.

Yezd they rear goats only, no sheep, and the hair from these is very strong." [56] Ḳazwīnī found in it "makers of silk (ḥarīr) of sundus (a kind of green brocade), extremely beautiful and close-woven which is taken from it to all countries." [57]

In Mongol times, Marco Polo [58] noted: "It is a good and noble city, and it has a great amount of trade. They weave there quantities of a certain silk tissue known as Yasdi, which merchants carry into many quarters to dispose of." Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī [59] is a trifle less laconic than usual: "Cotton is grown . . . . also silk is produced. . . . The craftsmen of Yezd are excellent and honest workmen."

Pedro Teixeira during the period of Portuguese influence in south Persia said:

> In three parts of Persia are manufactured carpets which in Portuguese we call alcatifas and the Persians call Kalichey (kalīča), the richest, the finest, and most estimated in Yezd, from which place I saw some, each of which, on account of its workmanship and perfection, was valued at more than a thousand ducats; and thus in speaking of the alcatifa (al-Ḳaṭīfa) of Yezd, which we corruptly call dodiaz, is understood the best, the finest, and the most perfect. The second-best are those from the kingdom of Kermon (Kerman), the third from Karason (Khurasan); they are also made in Agra, Bengala, and Cambaya,[60] but not fine ones.[61]

He also mentioned silk and rosewater.

Though it does not really enter the period covered by this work, the early nineteenth-century traveler Buckingham knew "carpets of a blue ground of the manufacture of Yezd in which Arabic inscriptions are wrought round the border in characters of white." [62]

Of Rūdhān, Maḳdisī wrote that "garments resembling the kind made at Bamm come from Rūdhān." [63] Yāḳūt added that "it is a mine of fullers and weavers (ḥāka)." It also produced saffron.[64]

Arradjān, in western Fars, is said to have been founded by the Sasanian king Kawādh I (496–531 A.D.), who settled prisoners of war there from Āmid, Diyārbakr, and Maiyāfāriḳīn. Maḳdisī [65] says that wrappers (fūṭa), kundakī (coarse) garments, and Indian goods (barbahār) were its specialties. Idrīsī, however, added: "The district of Radjān also bears the name of the founder, who was Sābūr, and after whom they call the manufactures of the stuffs known as Sābūrīya." [66] This statement increases the difficulty of identifying stuff of this name. I think that Sābirī was the name applied to the materials which came from the ṭirāz factory at Bishāpūr, a city rarely mentioned in the sources which I have used. Ibn Ḥawḳal stated that "Sābūr is renowned for Sābūrī cloth (thiyāb)." [67] Already at the beginning of the sixth (twelfth) century Bishāpūr was a complete ruin, and it may even have been so when Tha'ālibī [68] wrote the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* because he is uncertain what these Sābirī stuffs are.

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[56] Le Strange suggested faradjī for farakh, but I think we should almost certainly read marʿazzā, "goat-hair" with Djāḥiẓ (*supra*). Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 347, said of Yezd: "To it is attributed Yazdī cloth (ḳumāsh)."

[57] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, II, 187.

[58] H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian* (London 1871), I, 89. Chapter V.

[59] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

[60] See Appendix III.

[61] *The Travels of P. Teixeira with His "Kings of Harmuz" and Extracts from His "Kings of Persia,"* trans. and ann. by W. F. Sinclair and D. Ferguson (London, 1902), I, 243. This piece is extracted from the "Kings of Persia," but seems to refer to the Portuguese period. See C. A. Storey, *Persian Literature, A Bio-Bibliographical Survey* (London, 1927–), II, 2, 359.

[62] J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia* (London, 1829), II, 31.

[63] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442–43.

[64] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 830.

[65] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

[66] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 391.

The village of Darīz, near Bishāpūr, said Maḳdisī,[69] had excellent markets and many workers in linen (kattān).

Iṣṭakhr had begun to decline from its prosperity in Sasanian times, when Shiraz was founded in 64 H. (684 A.D.). Iṣṭakhrī himself had little to say about its products: "In Djānāt, one of the villages of Iṣṭakhr, are fine pleasing garments known as al-abā'ī of fine texture." [70] The earlier Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi had heard of "excellent black Iṣṭakhrī robes" [71] exported thence and included it in the list which contains many ṭirāz cities. It was practically destroyed by Ṣamṣām al-Dawla, toward the end of the Buwaihid rule.

Shiraz, according to Iṣṭakhrī,[72] had cloaks (abrād) which were taken to all quarters. Maḳdisī [73] said that it is famous for its cloaks (abrād) and robes (aksiya); and "from Shiraz, come the camelot robes (al-aksiya al-barrakānāt) to be found nowhere else, the munaiyar stuffs (with a double woof or weft) unrivaled for wear despite their fineness and loveliness, and the excellent cloaks (abrād), besides which, khazz-silk, brocade, ḳaṣab, and striped cloaks (ḥulla) are made there." [74] Again, he repeats [75] that the camelots and munaiyar stuffs have no peer.

As the city was only founded after the conquest, all the manufactures of Shiraz must have been introduced there in Muslim times. It seems feasible to suppose that those manufactures were introduced from the various cities in which they originally flourished. Perhaps the munaiyar stuffs were introduced from Rayy, the ḳaṣab stuffs from Fars-Khuzistan, and the brocade from one of the districts planted with Greek prisoners by the Sasanian kings.

Ḳazwīnī wrote (674 H. [1275 A.D.]) that "its people are skilled in the manufacture of garments of silk (ḥarīr) and fine head-cloths (wiḳāya [76])." [77] Mustawfī [78] said that in Shiraz all trades may be followed, suggesting its continued prosperity after the Mongols. Cotton is grown around it.

Kavār, according to Ibn al-Balkhī,[79] made muslin (kirbās).

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[67] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 179.

[68] Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.,* p. 112. Cf. Chapter III.

[69] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 433.

[70] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 155. Cf. Tabriz in Chapter VI for this stuff.

[71] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 267.

[72] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 155.

[73] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 430.

[74] *Ibid.,* p. 442.

[75] *Ibid.,* p. 443.

[76] Cf. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927); and *idem, Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845). He quoted Ibn al-Sikkīt for such a headcloth made of brocade, and also an inscribed one from *Kitāb al-Mu-washshā.*

[77] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.,* II, 140.

[78] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.,* pp. 113–14.

[79] Ibn al-Balkhī, *op. cit.,* p. 38.

Dārābd̲j̲ird was rather an important city. In the *Kitāb al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā*[80] long gowns (durrā'a) of Dārābd̲j̲ird worn by the fashionable are mentioned. Iṣṭak̲h̲rī added: "From Dārābd̲j̲ird is brought stuff similar to the Ṭabarī manufacture which is in Ṭabaristān."[81] Ibn Ḥawḳal confirmed this: "From Dārābd̲j̲ird cloth (t̲h̲iyāb) for upholstery like Ṭabarī is brought which is considered beautiful."[82] Apparently, the influence of the south Caspian group extended even here to south Persia. Maḳdisī is more prolix: "From Dārābd̲j̲ird come all valuable kinds of costly robes, those of middling value, and cheap kinds, as well as the kind which resembles the Ṭabaristānī cloth, and the mats (ḥuṣur) like the 'Abbadānī kind, excellent carpets (busuṭ) and curtains (sutūr) of sūsand̲j̲ird."[83] According to Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, it was also noted for its "black inks and dyes (ṣibg̲h̲) which were preferable to all others."[84]

The little village of Kardabān may have been the source of the coarse blue (kuḥailī) Kardawānī stuff which Miskawaihī[85] mentioned, about the year 326 H. (937 A.D.). Maḳrīzī[86] too heard of these cloths in the Fatimid treasuries, mentioning a Kardawānī brocade, and part of a tent made of variegated Kardawānī (manḳūs̲h̲). If this is the case, here is yet another material which was imported from Fars to Egypt.

Furd̲j̲ lay three marches to the southeast of Dārābd̲j̲ird, and Maḳdisī recorded that "from Furd̲j̲ come the garments, carpets (busuṭ), curtains (sutūr), and linen (kattān)."[87]

D̲j̲uwaim of Abu Ahmed (the modern D̲j̲uyūm) according to Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī[88] made muslin (kirbās).

Rīs̲h̲ahr, near the modern Bushire, was one of the ports for Fars. Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī said: "The people are almost entirely occupied with sea trade, but Rīs̲h̲ahrī flax is to be come by in this place."[89] Mustawfī wrote (probably copying Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī) that "the Rīs̲h̲ahr linen is famous. Most of the inhabitants are engaged in the sea trade but they excel in nothing."[90]

Sīrāf was another important port, and Maḳdisī[91] spoke of its wrappers (fūṭa) and linen loin cloths (izārs). It was a very notable city, but for reasons of space its various activities cannot be discussed here. It was the center for the dissemination of Indian wares in Persia. The following list of textile centers is given by Mustawfī[92] under the rule of the Īlk̲h̲āns:

Abarḳūh	grows cotton
Bis̲h̲āvūr	produces silk
Zarkān	grows cotton
D̲j̲ahram	grows cotton
Lār	grows cotton
D̲j̲uwaim	grows cotton
Kāzirūn	makes cotton and muslin
G̲h̲undid̲j̲ān	has weavers
Rīs̲h̲ahr	produces linen
Sīnīz	produces linen

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[80] Al-Was̲h̲s̲h̲ā', *op. cit.*, p. 124. Cf. Dozy, *Supplément*, and *idem*, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements*, for durrā'a.

[81] Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

[82] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

[83] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442–43.

[84] Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

[85] Miskawaihī, *op. cit.*, text, I, 387, trans., IV, 437.

[86] Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1853), I, 418. See Chapter XV.

[87] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

[88] Ibn al-Balk̲h̲ī, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

[89] *Ibid.*, p. 62.

[90] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, 129.

[91] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, pp. 442–43.

[92] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, pp. 120, 126, 137, 138. Cf. S̲h̲araf Khan Bidlīsī, *Scheref Nameh ou Fastes de la Nation Kourde*, trans. by F. B. Charmoy (St. Petersburg, 1868–75), I, 122.

Fars stuffs were also made as far away as Transoxiana, for Maḳdisī said that Sīnīzī cloth was made in Samarkand, and Narshakhī mentioned Yazdī textiles made in the ṭirāz factory of Bukhara, which might go to show how the state factories aided the spread of cultural influences. Hamadhānī noted a napkin (mandīl) of the weave of Djurdjān, and the manufacture of Arradjān.[93]

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[93] See Chapters VII and X.

CHAPTER VI

THE ARMENIAN-CASPIAN GROUP

Around the Black Sea and the Caspian there lies a group of provinces of indeterminate area and frontiers, such as Jazira, Armenia, Arrān, Azerbaijan, and Shirvan. These districts are of great importance to us because it was thence that the Sasanian kings brought the prisoners whom they settled in south Persia and Iraq, and perhaps other places as well. These provinces were, in the main, Christian, and Strzygowski[1] has demonstrated the spread of new influences in architecture westward from this very area into the Western world. The same seems to have been true of the fabrics of this Armenian group, as I shall conveniently designate it, though it includes many districts which are, properly speaking, Iranian. This area sent its exports to all Islamic countries, and very likely, too, its weavers, dyers, and embroiderers (Map 2; see also Map 2 of Chapter III).

The earliest sources mention the Armenian and Rūmī (Byzantine) stuffs. In the reign of Rashid (170–93 H. [786–809 A.D.]), the *Aghānī*[2] speaks of a carpet (zarbīya) or cushion of Armenian material. Djāḥiẓ (ob. 257 H. [869 A.D.]) stated:

> The best and most expensive drapery (farsh) is the crimson Armenian goathair kind with a double woof (al-mar'azzā al-ḳirmizī al-Armanī al-munaiyar), then the striped silk (al-khazz al-raḳm), then the brocade of the Khusrawānī (Sasanian or royal) Byzantine (Rūmī) manufacture, then the khazz-silk brocaded like Maisānī, then buzyūn-silk (a kind of brocade); whatsoever of those varieties is woven with gold is finer and fetches a higher price. All those kinds are sometimes woven with gold, except the Armenian and Maisānī, and buzyūn-silk.[3]

Again,[4] he said: "From Armenia and Azerbaijan come felts (lubūd), lacuna, cushions (or horse-cloths barādhi'), upholstery (farsh), fine carpets (busuṭ), trouserbands (tikka), and wool (ṣūf)." It might be worth mentioning that Djāḥiẓ paid more attention to Armenia and the areas under its cultural influence, Ṭabaristān and Fars-Khuzistan, than to any other group. In later times less attention was paid by writers to the Armenian group, and it seems to have become less important.

In the account of the revenues of the reign of Ma'mūn, which Ibn Khaldūn has extracted from the *Djirāb al-Dawla,* the following items are attributed to the Armenian group:

Ṭabaristān, Ruyān, and Nehavend	600	pieces (ḳiṭ'a) of Ṭabarī carpets (fursh)
	200	robes (aksiya)
	500	garments (thiyāb)
	300	napkins (mandīl)
	300	cups (djāmāt)
Gilan	20	robes
Armenia	20	large carpets in relief (busuṭ maḥfūra)

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[1] J. Strzygowski, *The Origin of Christian Church Art* (Oxford, 1923).

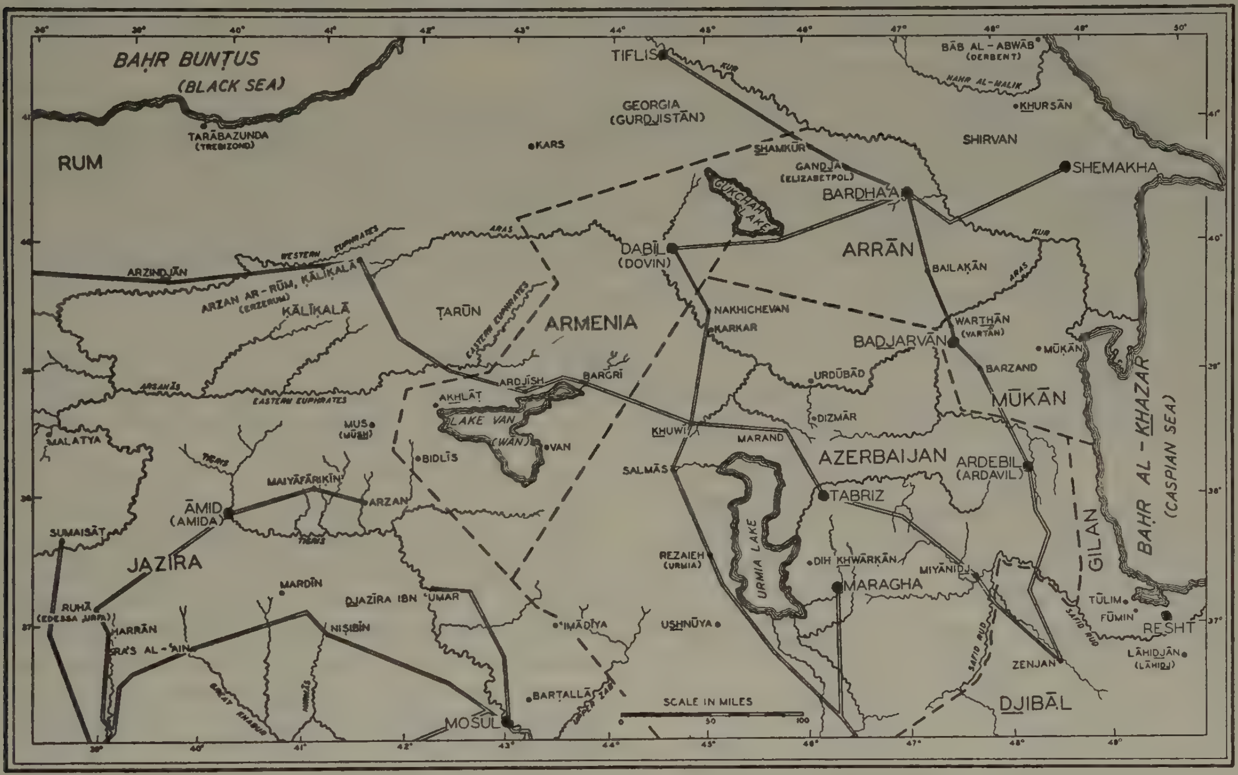
[2] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–36), VI, 181.

[3] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Ḥasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 336–37.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 348.

Again, we can compare this with the items which Tha'ālibī [5] enumerated as being sent to the (Buwaihid) sultans. To the court of the sultan there were taken every year, with the land-tax (kharādj), thirteen million dirhams, and thirty large carpets (bisāṭ) "in relief" (maḥfūra), and five hundred pieces (ḳiṭ'a) of striped silk (al-raḳm), as well as thirty falcons.

Mas'ūdī [6] related that Khaizurān, the wife of al-Mahdī (158–69 H. [775–85 A.D.]) had large Armenian carpets (bisāṭ), and cushions (numruḳ). The historian Ṭabarī,[7] in the year 170 H. [786 A.D.], mentioned an Armīnīya, some kind of carpet. The Caliph Amīn too had Armenian cushions (mirfaḳa).


BAḤR BUNṬUS
(BLACK SEA)
TARĀBAZUNDA
(TREBIZOND)
RUM
KARS
TIFLIS
KUR
GEORGIA
(GURDJISTĀN)
BĀB AL-ABWĀB
(DERBENT)
KHURSĀN
SHIRVAN
SHAMKŪR
GANDJA
(ELIZABETPOL)
GUKCHA LAKE
BARDHA'A
SHEMAKHA
DABĪL
(DOVIN)
ARRĀN
BAILAKĀN
ARAS
WESTERN EUPHRATES
ARZINDJĀN
ARZAN AR-RŪM, KĀLĪKALĀ
(ERZERUM)
KĀLĪKALĀ
TARŪN
EASTERN EUPHRATES
ARMENIA
NAKHICHEVAN
KARKAR
WARTHĀN
(VARTAN)
BADJARVĀN
MŪKĀN
BARZAND
MŪKĀN
EASTERN EUPHRATES
ARDJĪSH
BARGRĪ
AKHLĀT
LAKE VAN
(WĀN)
VAN
MUSH
(MŪSH)
URDŪBĀD
DIZMĀR
KHUWĪ
MARAND
AZERBAIJAN
ARDEBIL
(ARDAVIL)
MALATYA
BIDLĪS
SALMĀS
TIGRIS
MAIYĀFĀRIKĪN
ARZAN
ĀMID
(AMIDA)
TABRIZ
SUMAISĀT
JAZIRA
REZAIEH
(URMIA)
URMIA LAKE
DIH KHWĀRKĀN
MIYĀNIDJ
MARAGHA
GILAN
BAḤR AL-KHAZAR
(CASPIAN SEA)
MARDĪN
DJAZĪRA IBN 'UMAR
RUHĀ
(EDESSA, URFA)
HARRĀN
NAṢĪBĪN
RA'S AL-'AIN
IMĀDIYA
USHNŪYA
TŪLIM
FŪMIN
RESHT
SAFID RUD
ZENJAN
LĀHIDJĀN
(LĀHIDJ)
BARṬALLĀ
SCALE IN MILES
0
50
100
DJIBĀL
MOSUL

MAP 4.—JAZIRA, ARMENIA, ARRĀN, AZERBAIJAN, AND SHIRVAN

The precise value of the famous Armenian trouserbands is given by Tanūkhī:[8] "When Abū Yūsuf died, he left in his wardrobe two hundred pairs of khazz-silk pantaloons (sarāwīl) of different sorts, each with its own band (tikka) of Armanī worth a dinar." These trouser-bands figure frequently in contemporary authors, and the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*[9] makes an allusion to Armenian fabrics embroidered in colors (al-manḳūsha al-Armanīya). The earlier *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*[10] speaks of Armenian carpets (miṭraḥ) as one the things totally lacking in Isfahan.

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[5] Tha'ālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 428.

[6] Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), VI, 234 and 433.

[7] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), ser. III, I, 602. Baihaḳī (M. b. al-Ḥusain Abu 'l-Faḍl) in the Tārīkh-i Baihaḳ (Teheran, 1307 H. [1889–90 A.D.]), p. 30, spoke of Maḥfūrī pieces of carpet at the court in the reign of al-Ma'mūn. A marginal note to this edition adds: "Maḥfūr is the name of a town on the coast of the Mediterranean where felts (anmāṭ), carpets (busuṭ), and good upholstery (farsh) are woven."

[8] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth, Oriental Trans. Fund (London, 1921), text p. 125, trans. p. 137.

These Armenian stuffs do not seem to have been so highly esteemed as were the products of the Egyptian ṭirāz factories; however, to judge from the following passage in the continuation of the *Annals* of Ṭabarī, which discusses the fraudulent purchase of effects from the estate of al-Muwaffaḳ in the year 311 H. (923 A.D.):

> The vizier al-Muḥassin deceived the caliph therein, and took most for himself. The pieces of red Dabīḳī stuff (al-shiḳaḳ al-Dabīḳīya al-shuḳairīyāt), the lowest price of each of which was seventy dinars, were stuffed into Armenian cushions (makhādd Armīnīya) and pillows (miswar) and sold, being bought by al-Muḥassin, just as if the stuffing were of wool. He did the same with the precious ḳaṣab, and the Rashīdī[11] and the mulḥam (a stuff with a warp of silk, but a woof of some other material) called Shu'aibī, and the Nishapur mulḥam.[12]

Iṣṭakhrī,[13] with a bias for Persia, claimed that the carpets (busuṭ), curtains (sutūr), and cushions of Ghundidjān surpassed those of Armenia. Ibn Ḥawḳal[14] stated that a certain governor of Armenia sent, along with the annual tax, a hundred garments of Rūmī (Byzantine) brocade. Maḳdisī[15] added: "From it were brought curtains (sutūr), valuable carpets (zullīya) with many properties" and[16] "their trouserbands (tikka), carpets in relief (maḥfūrīyāt), crimson (ḳirmiz), carpets (anmāṭ), and dyes (ṣibgh) have no equal."

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[9] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā,* ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 125. As the editor was only able to avail himself of a single MS the text is very dubious in places. For the reading here:

التكك الخزّيّة والمطارف القطنيّة والمنقوشة الأرمنيّة

I suggest we read as on p. 127:

التكك الخزّيّة المُطرَفة القطنيّة...

This makes the passage refer to Armenian trouser cords.

[10] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim,* ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 36. Cf. Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje. *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (= *B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1885), V, 235.

[11] It seems likely that this name refers to the stuffs after the fashion invented by Caliph Rashid, or possibly, containing a ṭirāz border with his name. This was the case with Mutawakkilī stuffs. It might refer to the measure for cloth invented by Rashid, mentioned in Chapter II. Another possibility suggested by M. J. de Goeje (glossary to Ṭabarī), is that these materials came from the town of Rashīd (Rosetta) in the Delta. The objection to the first suggestion is that the date of this incident is much later, and that the name occurs in several different authors. Ṭabarī (*op. cit.,* III, II, 753) wrote that Rashid has an "izār Rashīdī" wide of borders ('alam), of a deep red dye (shadīd al-taḍrīdj) circa 153 H. (770 A.D.). In the same place he mentioned that seven cloaks (ghilāla) of Rashīdī ḳaṣab of women's cut were brought in. They seem in fact to have been particularly popular among women, for al-Washshā' (*op. cit.,* p. 94) discussing the singing girls who seek to extract money from the jeunesse dorée of Baghdad, said: "When she knows that he is drowned in the pangs of love, she begins to seek costly presents, and desires Aden garments, izārs of Nishapur, pieces of Andjādjī cloth, Rashīdī cloaks, Sūsī turbans, ibrīsm-silk trousercords," etc. See Appendix I.

[12] 'Arīb, *Ṭabarī continuatus,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1897), p. 116. Al-Muṭarrizī (Nāṣir b. 'Abd al-Saiyid) said: "Mulḥam cloth is the kind of which the warp (sadā) is ibrīsm-silk, and the woof (luḥma) of which is not ibrīsm-silk." (Al-Mughrib fī Tartīb al-Mu'rib (Hyderabad, 1328 H. [1910 A.D.], II, 168.) Reference supplied by M. Minovi. Al-Muṭarrizī was born about 538 H. (1143–4 A.D.).

[13] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum. . . .,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 152.

[14] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna. . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 255.

The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*[17] includes Armenian trouserbands (tikka), carpets (busuṭ), and large carpets (zullīya) of Ḳālīḳalā in a list of luxurious stuffs in the time of 'Aḍud al-Dawla. Minūčihrī,[18] the poet of the Seljuk period said: "Nawrūz (New Year) is the time of joy and happiness. The (rain) cloud clothes the plain with Armenian brocade." By this we must understand the poet to refer to the brilliant color of the fabric, and the flower embroideries thereon.

Armenia was in close touch with Byzantium, and successive writers, each one amplifying the account of the previous one, have noted these textiles imported from the Greeks. Mas'ūdī[19] remarked of Trebizond: "It has various markets in the year to which Muslims, Byzantines (Rūm), Armenians, etc., as well as people from the Caucuses, come to trade." Iṣṭakhrī[20] said: "They have a place of entry into Byzantium, known as Ṭarābazunda (Trebizond), where merchants assemble to enter the land of Rūm for the purpose of trading. All the brocade, buzyūn brocade, and garments of Rūm which come to these parts, are from Ṭarābazunda." To this, Ibn Ḥawḳal[21] added: "Most of the brocade, buzyūn-brocade, garments of Rūmī linen (kattān), woollen (ṣūf) garments, and Rūmī robes (aksiya) come from Ṭarābazunda. . . . and the cloth (ḳumāsh) going to it and coming from it is liable to a customs-duty of 10 per cent."[22] This shows that the traffic by no means merely went the one way.

The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[23] lists Rūmī textiles: "It (Byzantium) produces in great quantities brocades, sundus-textiles (silk of a green color), Maisānī-textiles, carpets (ṭinfisa), stockings, and valuable trouser cords." Minūčihrī often referred to Rūmī sundus brocade along with Ḳurḳūbī stuffs. The articles which the *Ḥudūd* details are very curious and seem to correspond to the wares known as Armanī. One must, of course, remember again, in regard to the Maisānī stuffs, that Maisān falls within the area colonized with eastern Byzantine prisoners during the Sasanian era; though foreigners are not precisely mentioned as being planted there, yet the Maisānī wares resemble Armenian types. Doubtless the Muslims were vague as to the difference between the stuffs of Armenia proper and those imported from Byzantium. A further complication is that the name Rūmī was applied to the Ḳurḳūbī stuffs from south Persia.

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[15] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1878; 2d ed. 1906), III, 374.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 380.

[17] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 132.

[18] A. de Biberstein Kazimirsky, *Menoutchehri, poète persan du 11ème siècle de notre ère* (Paris, 1886), text, p. 139.

[19] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, II, 3.

[20] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[21] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

[22] *Op. cit.*, p. 132.

[23] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., xi, 156. For the Trebizond route see H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian* (London, 1871), I, 36.

ARMENIA

Of this province, Ibn Ḥawḳal said:

> In this country and the surrounding districts there are many articles of merchandise for export, as well as various things much sought after, such as riding animals, sheep, and cloth (thiyāb), which is imported, into every country and province being well known and renowned, and consisting of such articles as Armenian trouserbands (tikka), which are made at Salmās, a single one of which is sold at prices varying from one dinar to ten dinars, having no equal in the world, besides the above-mentioned Armanī (fabrics) made in Dabīl. There are made in Marand, Tabriz, Dabīl, and the districts of Armenia, Armenian cushions (maḳā'id) and carpets (ankhākh) known as Armanī maḥfūr (Armenian carpets with a raised pattern), with scarcely an equal in any place which possesses manufactures resembling these. Of a like nature are sabanīya (pieces of stuff for veils or handkerchiefs),[24] the cloths of red wool (miḳram), and the handkerchiefs manufactured in Maiyāfāriḳīn and in certain places in Armenia.[25]

Idrīsī[26] copied this passage and also mentioned the Armenian felts, which, however, Djāḥiẓ[27] in the second century of the Hijra, did not esteen so highly as the Chinese, Maghribī (African), or Ṭāliḳānī (from Khurāsān) felts.

In the Seljuk period the country was terribly devastated by that destructive Turkish race in the process of conquering the land, but many of the inhabitants migrated to Little Armenia and Cilicia about the latter half of the eleventh century of the Christian era. This may have been the great blow to the Armenian textile trade, and, in part, the cause of the rise to fame of the Turkish carpets of Asia Minor in the following centuries.

The capital of Armenia was Dabīl (Dovin[28]). Iṣṭakhrī[29] wrote:

> There come from it cloths (thiyāb) of wool, consisting of carpets (busuṭ), pillows (wasīda), cushions (maḳā'id), trouserbands (tikka), and other kinds of Armenian (fabrics). They have a dye called ḳirmiz (qermes, "crimson") with which wool is dyed, and I have heard that it is a worm which spins round itself like the silk worm (dūda al-ḳazz). I have heard also that much buzyūn comes from it.

The corresponding passage in Ibn Ḥawḳal has:

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[24] R. Dozy (*Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* [Amsterdam, 1854]) said that these stuffs come from a little village near Baghdad, but later, in the *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), he was less certain about their origin and thought that the word might be derived from the Greek *σάβανον*, which, in view of their being manufactured in this part of the world, is not unlikely. Yāḳūt (*Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld [Leipzig, 1866–73], III, 35) said: "Saban. Al-Ḥāzimī said: 'It is a place to which are ascribed the Sabanīya, a kind of garment which is made with linen (kattān) of the coarsest there is.'" He gave no indication of the whereabouts of this place. The word was also used later, in the Mameluke period.

[25] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

[26] Idrīsī, *Géographie*, trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), II, 326. He said that the Sabanī veils are dyed black, but the translation here is most unreliable.

[27] Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

[28] Duwin and also Tovin.

[29] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

From it come cloths (thiyāb) of goathair (marʿazz) and wool, consisting of carpets, pillows, cushions, trouserbands, and other kinds of Armanī-fabric, dyed with ḳirmiz. It is a red dye with which goat hair materials (marʿazz) are dyed, and wool. It originates from a worm which spins round itself like the silk worm when it spins silk round itself. From it much buzyūn-brocade is brought; there are many varieties similar to it in Byzantium, though it is itself exported. As for their famous green mantles for women (batt,[30]) cushions (maḳāʿid), carpets (busuṭ), curtains (sutūr), strips of carpet (ankhākh), leather pillows (miswar), and couches (misnad), they have no peer in all the world in any way at all.[31]

The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* [32] says: "In it live numerous Christians. . . . It produces worms from which crimson dye is made, and good trouser cords." Maḳdisī [33] added: "From Dabīl come garments of wool, carpets, (busuṭ), pillows (wasīda), carpets (anmāṭ), and precious trouserbands.[34]. . . . Its wool is important." He noted that it was a fine place, though most of the population was Christian. Idrīsī [35] had little new to tell: "They make stuffs of cloth called marʿazz (goathair), carpets, felts, cushions, and various other objects which are superior to all that one can obtain of this most perfect kind."

Bidlīsī said: "It is a flourishing town of Armenia. The inhabitants make unparalleled carpets and the ḳirmiz there is of a very fine shade." [36]

So famous was this part of the world for its ḳirmiz dye that Balādhurī [37] mentioned a place, Azdisāṭ, near Dabīl which was called "ḳarya al-ḳirmiz" or the ḳirmiz-village. In the second century Djāḥiẓ [38] discussed this dye:

> They claim that ḳirmiz is a grass in the root of which there is a red worm. It grows in three places in the earth—in the Maghrib district, the land of Andalus, and in a district called Tārum (in Fars), and in the land of Fars. Nobody knows this grass and where it is to be found, except a sect of the Jews who have charge of collecting it every year in Māh Isfandārmudh (the twelfth month of the solar year). That worm is dried, and ibrīsm-silk and wool, etc., are dyed with it. The best-dyed is in certain places in the land of Wāsiṭ.[39]

This may throw some light on the curious statement of Ibn Rusta: "In Nahrawān are made the draperies (farsh) of which the Armenian stuff is manufactured, and then they are taken to Armenia and spun and woven there." [40] Perhaps the author referred to the thread which was dyed and then taken to Armenia to be made into the celebrated cloth. He may only be referring to the base upon which these carpets were woven. Of the ḳirmiz Ibn al-Faḳīh [41] said: "It is a red worm which appears in certain days of Rabīʿ (spring). It is collected and prepared (ṭabakha), and wool is dyed with it."

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[30] Dozy, *op. cit.*, *idem*, *Dictionnaire. . . . des vêtements*, after Ibn al-Sikkīt.

[31] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 244.

[32] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 142.

[33] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 377.

[35] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, II, 325.

[36] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *Scheref Nameh ou Fastes de la Nation Kourde*, trans by F. Charmoy (St. Petersburg, 1868–75), I, 171.

[37] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 200.

[38] Djāḥiz, *op. cit.*, p. 339.

[39] See Chapter III.

[40] See Chapter III.

[41] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 297.

It is particularly interesting to notice that the Jews are credited with the monopoly of the manufacture of this dye, as I shall later discuss the prominence of Jews as dyers throughout the East during the Middle Ages. Perhaps they took the ḳirmiz to Spain, but this is speculation.

Yāḳūt [42] said of Lake Van (Wān): "At it carpets (busuṭ) are made." The Muslims had settled in this area by the ninth century.

Quite as famous in ancient times as Dabīl, was Ḳālīḳalā, the modern Erzerum. Though it was conquered in the first fifty years of Islamic dominion there is only a very meager fund of information concerning the manufactures of this city until Seljuk times. The silence of authors in regard to the manufactures of the city until the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* might seem to imply that little was made there during the early Muslim period, but this work does know of ḳālī-carpets in other Armenian centers and from where else could they derive their name but Ḳālīḳalā? Perhaps it first came into prominence during the Buwaihid supremacy at Baghdad, for these monarchs came from the Caspian provinces. Even Iṣṭak͟hrī merely included it among a number of small places of Armenia of trifling importance. However, Yāḳūt [43] said: "In Ḳālīḳalā there are made those carpets (busuṭ) named Ḳālī, the name (nisba) of which has been shortened to only part of it in speech, on account of euphony." Ḳazwīnī [44] also confined himself to generalities: "From it are exported the carpets (busuṭ), and the rugs (zullīya) which are called ḳālī. Its people have a skillful hand in manufacturing them. From Ḳālīḳalā they are taken to other countries. There are many Christians there."

An Armenian, Matthew of Edessa,[45] mentioned gold brocade stuffs taken at Ardzan by the Turks who conquered it in 498 H. (1049–50 A.D.), and that they were many because it was the capital of the Armenian kings. After the Seljuks conquered it, the few inhabitants left, migrated to the neighboring town of Ḳālīḳalā, which they called Arzan al-Rūm (Arzan of the Romans, i.e., Byzantines).

To the west of Erzerum is Arzind͟jān, and here too, there is little information until Seljuk times. Marco Polo [46] spoke of Arzind͟jān "at which they weave the best buckrams in the world." Ibn Baṭūṭa [47] said: "Arzind͟jān has well arranged markets. They make beautiful garments called after the town there." Yāḳūt [48] remarked that most of the inhabitants were Christian Armenians, but there were some Muslims.

It is perhaps here that Āmid (Diyārbakr) and Maiyāfāriḳīn should be considered. D͟jāḥiẓ [49] noted that there come from Āmid, "cloths of watered silk (t͟hiyāb muwas͟hs͟hā), kerchiefs (mandīl), and woollen hoods (ṭailasān)." Maḳdisī [50] has a brief but important note: "From Āmid come woollen garments (thiyāb al-ṣūf), and Rūmī (Roman) linen after the Sicilian manufacture ('alā 'amal al-Ṣiḳilī)." Supposing the text to be correct, one finds here a material of a Byzantine kind similar to that made in Sicily, itself once in Byzantine hands.

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[42] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 895.

[43] *Ibid.*, IV, 20.

[44] Ḳazwīnī, *El-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 370.

[45] M. E. Dulaurier, *Récit de la première croisade, extrait de la Chronique de Matthieu d'Édesse* (Paris, 1850), p. 84.

[46] Yule, *op. cit.*, I, 47–48. Yule made a very learned attempt to identify buckram, which was not the coarse stiff cloth we know, but a fine stuff of silk or linen. Cf. barrakān, footnote to Chapter III.

[47] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), II, 294.

[48] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 205.

[49] D͟jāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

In Maiyāfāriḳīn, according to Idrīsī [51] "they make cords which equal, if not surpass, in quality, those of Salmās, and further, napkins, goathair stuffs (mar'azz[52]), and woollen veils (lin) called sabanīyāt (pieces of stuff for veils or handkerchiefs.)."

Marco Polo [53] added: "Near this province (Mosul) is another called Mus (Mūsh) and Mardīn, producing an immense quantity of cotton from which they make a great deal of buckram and other cloth. The people are craftsmen and traders and are all subject to the Tartar king."

Though, properly speaking, Āmid Maiyāfāriḳīn, and Mardīn lie in Jazira, yet culturally they form part of the Armenian unit. As discussed in a previous chapter, it was from those cities that the weavers were transported to south Persia by the Sasanians.

Just over the border, into Armenia again, is Bidlīs, of which the native Bidlīsī [54] related that during the caliphate of Omar II (in 98 H. [716 A.D.]) the prince of Bidlīs was forced to pay a hundred thousand dinars to the Muslims and to furnish a thousand pieces of stuff (aḳmisha), and European brocade (dībā-yi Ifrandj).

In Khuwī, Bargrī Ardjīdj, Akhlāṭ, Nakhchuvān, and Bidlīs, according to the *Ḥudūd*,[55] "large quantities of zīlū-carpets (zīlū-hā-yi-ḳālī), and trouser cords" are made. Some of these towns are in Azerbaijan, of which the *Ḥudūd* [56] reports: "It produces crimson (ḳirmiz), trouser cords (shalvārband), woollen stuffs, madder (rūdīna)."

Ardebil (Ardavil) was the Muslim capital of Azerbaijan. It is said to have been founded by the Sasanian monarch Fīrūz (457–84 A.D.). Iṣṭakhrī wrote: "From it are brought cloths (thiyāb) of wool, such as carpets (busuṭ), cushions (wasīda), pillows (maḳā'id), trouser-bands (tikka) and other kinds of Armenian wares They have a dye called ḳirmiz with which wool is dyed and I have heard that the worm of it weaves round itself like the silk worm (dūd al-ḳazz). I have heard too, that much buzyūn-brocade is brought from it." [57] The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* [58] remarks: "It produces striped stuffs (djāma-yi-burd) and stuffs of various colors (djāma-yi-rangīn)."

Kūrsara near Ardebil, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal,[59] had a trade in cloth (bazz) and rarities (barbahār).

Marand's eminence as a manufacturing center has been traced as far back as Ibn Ḥawḳal, but the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* [60] confines itself to the remark that "it produces various woollen stuffs." Mustawfī [61] said that it produces cotton: "In the plains to the south of Marand the ḳirmiz insect is found; this can only be obtained during a single week during the summer season, and if the insect be not taken then, it makes a hole (in the cocoon) and flies away."

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[50] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

[51] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, II, 152.

[52] Reading مراعز for Jaubert's عراض

[53] Yule, *op. cit.*, I, 62.

[54] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *op. cit.*, II, I, 207.

[55] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 143.

[56] *Ibid.*, p. 142.

[57] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

[58] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 142.

[59] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

[60] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 143.

According to Le Strange, Tabriz was a mere village in the third century H. (ninth century A.D.) when, in Mutawakkil's reign, a certain Ibn Rawād settled there, and he and his descendants built themselves palaces. There are no very early sources, but Yāḳūt [62] said: "There are made there abā'ī garments, siḳlāṭūn, Khaṭā'ī (Chinese stuffs?), satin (atlas), and nasadj (woven stuff), which are carried to all countries, east and west." I suspect that one ought to read 'Attābī [63] for this Chinese stuff with Ḳazwīnī: "From it are brought 'Attābī garments, those of siḳlāṭūn, aṭlas-satin, and nasadj (woven stuff), to all quarters." [64]

Tabriz was one of the few towns to escape being destroyed in the Mongol cataclysm, and perhaps because of this it became the largest city in these parts under their rule. To judge from several passages which will be quoted, it must have been a center of state enterprise during the Īl-Khānid period.

Bar Hebraeus [65] reported that an ambassador from Ahmed the son of Hūlāgū (in the latter half of the thirteenth century), called Abd al-Rahman, was sent to Syria. He was liberally supplied with money from the Treasury, precious stones and apparel, and bales of stuff wherein much gold was woven: "He came to Tabriz and he sat there for about a month of days. He gathered together handicraftsmen of all kinds, jewellers, and sewers (weavers), and others and made everything to a royal pattern."

Bidlīsī [66] described how, in 693 H. (1293 A.D.), the (Mongol) emperor tried to introduce paper notes for money after the fashion of the Chinese. It was forbidden to place "the writing of inscriptions (raḳm-i-nusakh) in the weaving of stuffs of gold-brocades (zarbaft) except in the king's court (sarkar-i-pādshāh), and thus similarly the goldsmiths (zarkar) gold-wire-drawers (zarkash), and other sewers with gold thread (zardūz) had to give obedience to his command."

This ordinance must have sorely affected the Tabrīzīs as Marco Polo [67] found, a little before this:

> The men of Tauris (Tabriz) get their living by trade and handicrafts, for they weave many kinds of beautiful and valuable stuffs of silk and gold. The city has such a good position that merchandise

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[61] Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 89.

[62] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 822.

[63] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, II, 227.

[64] According to 'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār*, E. M. Quatremère, *Notes et extraits de la Bibl. Nat.*, XIII (1838), 283, at Tabriz, "Hulagu étant mort, et son fils Abaqa étant monté sur le trône, les soldats du Kipčāk. . . . demandèrent et obtinrent la permission d' élever une manufacture (karkhāna) dans laquelle ils fabriqueraient des étoffes pour leur usage et celui du Sultan Bérékeh." War broke out and the ṭirāz was destroyed though probably rebuilt later. "La paix s'étant rétablie . . . . la manufacture fut remise sur pied et l'on régla que les sujets de Bérékeh tireraient de l' argent de leur pays, et fabriqueraient d' étoffes qu' ils jugeraient à propos."

[65] E. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (Oxford, 1932), trans., p. 468.

[66] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *op. cit.*, II, (1), 363, text, *op. cit.*, II, 15.

[67] Yule, *op. cit.*, I, 75.

> is brought thither from India, Baudas (Baghdad), Cremesor (Garmsīr, the area round the Persian Gulf), and many other regions; and that attracts many Latin merchants, especially Genoese, to buy goods and transact other business there; the more as it is also a great market for precious stones.

He found a great mixture of peoples there, Armenians, Nestorians, Jacobites, Georgians, and Persians.

The last notice is from the pen of Ibn Baṭūṭa,[68] who said the Kamkhā was a silk stuff made at Baghdad, Tabriz, and Nishapur. This stuff though known before the conquest was never attributed to any of those towns and was perhaps a genuine Chinese stuff. One may surmise that the Mongols introduced the manufacture of this textile into those places. The textiles of Tabriz are also noted in the Mameluke court in a work entitled *Zubda Kashf al-Mamālik,*[69] where a Tabrīzī cloak (ḳabā') is mentioned.

ARRĀN

Bardha'a, the capital of Arrān, was captured as early as the reign of Othman and was rebuilt in the time of 'Abd al-Malik. The passages quoted below will show that it was never a great manufacturing center, though Maḳdisī called it the "Baghdad of the country." It seems, rather, to have produced raw materials, exported to countries farther south.

Iṣṭakhrī,[70] repeated by Ibn Ḥawḳal,[71] said: "A great deal of ibrīsm-silk, raised on the mulberry trees which are common, is exported from it. A large supply is dispatched thence to Fars and Khuzistan." Concisely, the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* adds: "Bardha'a produces silk and madder (rūnās)." [72] Maḳdisī [73] repeated the earlier authors: "From Bardha'a much ibrīsm-silk is brought," and "from Bardha'a come curtains (sutūr)," and "there is set up on the Sunday a market called al-Kurkī to which the inhabitants of the district and the neighboring country assemble, so that a man says 'Sunday' and Kurkī-day, 'Monday.' Ibrīsm-silk and garments are sold there." This market existed as early as the time of Iṣṭakhrī. Yāḳūt commented that 'a large amount of ibrīsm-silk is brought from it which originates from free mulberry-trees without any owner, dispatched thence to Fars and Khuzistan, in large quantities." [74]

After the decline of Bardha'a, Bailaḳān became the capital. According to the *Ḥudūd* [75] it produced "striped textiles (burd-hā), horse-rugs (djull), and veils (burḳa')." Moses of Khoren, an Armenian writer, mentions cotton there,[76] and so does Mustawfī.[77]

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[68] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.,* II, 311. 'Attābī was made in these three cities, but kamkhā is rarely noted before the Mongol conquest by any author. The name is to be found in Tha'ālibī's *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* and in Ṭabarī (*op. cit.,* III, II, 1169), where in the year 220 H. (835 A.D.), a poet speaks of the Zuṭṭs wearing kamkhān of China. Maḳrīzī (*Khiṭaṭ* [Bulaq, 1853], I, 473) in 518 H. (1124 A.D.) spoke of barques ornamented with Dabīḳī awnings and kawāmikh (plural of kamkhā?).

[69] *Zoubdat Kachf el-Mamâlik. . . . ,* by Khalîl ed-Dâhiry, text by P. Ravaisse (Paris, 1894), p. 109.

[70] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 183.

[71] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 241.

[72] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 143.

[73] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 380.

[74] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* I, 559.

[75] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* p. 144.

[76] H. Thopdschian, "Die inneren Zustände Armeniens unter Ashot, I," *Mitteil. d. Seminars f. Orient Sprachen in Berlin,* II (1904), 142–52, an excellent article.

[77] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.,* p. 92.

Little is known of Gandja (Elizabetpol) and Shamkūr, but again, according to the *Ḥudūd*: "Both produce woollen stuffs of all kinds."[78] The Samanids used to present their Turkish slaves, when they had reached the rank of withāḳ-bāshī with Gandjī clothing, so presumably it was no cheap material. Ḳabān, near Urdūbād, according to the *Ḥudūd* "had much cotton of good quality."[79]

SHIRVAN PROVINCE

In Shirvan province, the most important city was Bāb al-Abwāb (Derbent). It had been held at various times by both Romans and Sasanians, though the latter held it previous to the Muslim conquest. Iṣṭakhrī said: "Linen (kattān) cloth is found there. In all Arrān, Armenia, and Azerbaijan there is no linen except here."[80] Ibn Ḥawḳal noted "linen garments such as (the kind which are called) Abdān."[81] The *Ḥudūd*[82] too, mentions linen and saffron like the others. Yāḳūt[83] wrote of "business" (shughl) in linen there, and Abu 'l-Fidā',[84] quoted Ibn Ḥawḳal as saying that all the linen garments in Djurdjān, Dailam, and Ṭabaristān are imported through Derbent. Perhaps these came from Byzantium, though Usāma ibn Munḳidh[85] told how his father sent Egyptian apparel (kiswa al-Miṣr) to the Armenian lords in Lesser Armenia in exchange for the famous Armenian falcons. This Egyptian apparel was most likely linen, though it might have been wool.

Khursān, which, according to the *Ḥudūd*[86] lay between Derbent and Shirvan, "produced woollen stuffs, and all the different kinds of carpets with a relief pattern (maḥfūrī) which are found in the world are from Shirvan, Khursān, and Derbent."

This part of the Armenian group was famous for another dye, the madder dye, which is mentioned by all the geographers with more or less detail. Iṣṭakhrī[87] said: "From Bardhaʿa is brought this madder (fuwwa), which is imported into the land of India and all places." Ibn Ḥawḳal repeated:

> In the districts of Warthān, Bardhaʿa, and Bāb al-Abwāb, and the island which is in the middle of the Caspian Sea (Buḥaira al-Khazar) there is madder which is carried by the Caspian Sea to Djurdjān and taken to the land of India by land. This madder is found in all the land of Arrān from the extremities of Bāb al-Abwāb to Tiflis, and from near Nahr al-Rūs (the Volga) to the districts of Djurdjān.[88]

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[78] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* p. 144. C. Schefer, "Siasset Namèh, Traité de gouvernement, ... par Nizam oul-Moulk," *Publ. école des langues orientales vivantes,* sér. III, VIII (Paris, 1891–93), text, p. 95, trans., pp. 139–40.

[79] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* p. 143.

[80] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 184.

[81] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 242. Cf. Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* II, 322.

[82] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* p. 145. Cf. Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 380.

[83] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* I, 437–38.

[84] *Géographie d'Aboulféda,* text by M. Reinaud and M. Le Bon MacGuckin de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 390, trans. by M. Reinaud (Paris, 1847–83), II, 144.

[85] *Usamah's Memoirs Entitled Kitab al-Iʿtibar,* ed. P. K. Hitti (Princeton, 1930), p. 202. *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman . . . . Memoirs of Usamah ibn Munqidh,* trans. by P. K. Hitti (New York, 1929), p. 231.

[86] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* p. 145.

[87] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 190.

[88] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 190.

He also noted [89] "an island opposite the (river) Kurr known as Djazīra al-Bāb . . . . madder (fuwwa) is brought from it." The *Ḥudūd* [90] says that this island of Djazīra al-Bāb "produces madder exported to all the world and used by dyers."

GILAN

Another tiny province of this region was Gilan. The *Ḥudūd* gives a general list of its products: "The province of Gilan is prosperous, favored by nature, and wealthy. . . . From Gilan come brooms, reed mats (ḥaṣīr), prayer-mats (muṣallā-namāz), and māhā-fish which are exported everywhere." [91] Ḳazwīnī [92] related: "They rear the silk-worm (dūd al-ibrīsm). The work of the men is riziculture, and the work of the women, the raising of the silk worm (dūd al-ḳazz). . . . Their women weave waist cloths (or shirts, mi'zar [93]) and strange fine women's belts (mishaddāt) which are taken to all countries." Marco Polo [94] said that it is from the country of the Sea of Ghelan that the silk called Ghellé is brought.

Resht was the capital of the province, but there is no information as to any manufactures there other than a verse of Minūčihrī [95] who said: "From the tulips and violets, all the mountain-tops and desert-plains have become red and white like the brocades of Resht." Barthold thought that industry in this region belonged to a period later than the tenth century, and there is a remarkable paucity of evidence from literary sources of this time, but this must not be too severely stressed.

Of Lāhidj, Yāḳūt remarked: "From it is imported the Lāhidjī ibrīsm-silk, but it is not of the first rank." [96] Abu 'l-Fidā' [97] noted that "Lāhidjān exports a celebrated silk (ḥarīr) to other countries."

For Dailamān province, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* [98] gives the following list: "This province produces silk textiles (djāma-yi-ibrīshum), of one color, or of (several) colors (yak-rang va bā rang), e.g., mubram (twisted silk), silk (ḥarīr), and the like as well as great quantities of linen cloths." As described by Maḳdisī: "This is the province of khazz-silk and wool. There are many skilled craftsmen in it." [99] The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* intends a larger district than Dailam proper, including Ṭabaristān, Gilan, Djurdjān, and Ḳūmis. After the conquest, Mustawfī [100] gave the following list of products of the country: "Tūlim, cotton, Resht, cotton and silk, Fūmin, cotton and silk."

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[89] *Ibid.*, p. 277.

[90] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 60. Cf. Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, pp. 362 and 372; Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, II, 330 and 335; M. A. F. Mehren, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen age* (Copenhagen, 1874), p. 194.

[91] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 137, text ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Ṭihrānī (Teheran, 1352 H. [1933 A.D.]), p. 88.

[92] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, II, 237.

[93] Dozy, *Dictionnaire . . . . des vêtements*, and *idem*, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, gives the meanings also of "drawers" and "a piece of stuff rolled round the turban," etc.

[94] Yule, *op. cit.*, I, 54.

[95] Kazimirsky, *op. cit.*, p. 285. I understand Resht in Gilan, not the district in Khurasan.

[96] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 344.

[97] *Géographie d' Aboulféda.* texte arabe, p. 429. Cf. Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[98] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 133.

[99] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 353.

[100] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 159. Cf. ʿUmarī, *op. cit.*, pp. 294 and 298.

MŪḲĀN

Concerning Mūḳān province, north of Gilan, the *Ḥudūd*[101] says: "From Mūḳān come madder (rūdhīna), sacks (djuvāl), and palas rugs in great numbers." The capital, Barzand, was, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal, a large town, and Maḳdisī mentioned its bazaars, but again the *Ḥudūd* alone is able to tell us that it produced "ḳaṭīfa-textiles."[102] It had fallen to ruin and was rebuilt by Afshīn, a page of Mu'taṣim, in the first half of the third century of the Hijra. These ḳaṭīfa (velvet) cloths were probably introduced there after that date. In Mustawfī's time it was again an unimportant village. The *Ḥudūd*[103] further remarks that Warthān (Vartān) exports "zīlū, and prayer-carpets (muṣallā-namāz)."

THE ĪL-KHĀNID PERIOD

Mustawfī[104] does little more than list the names of textile centers. In addition to those already cited above, there are the following:

> Khiyāv. Its people for the most part are boot-makers and cloth-workers. Ḳabala produces excellent silk. Darāvard, Ḳal'a, Kahrān, Kīlān, Faṣlūn, Miyānidj, Marāgha, Dih Khwārḳān, Marand, Dizmār, Karkar, Nakhchuvān, Urdūbād, Āzad, Ardjīsh, all produce cotton.

AN APPENDIX ON CAUCASIA

Before proceeding to examine the products of the other Caspian provinces, it might be profitable to add a few notes on Caucasia.

Mas'ūdī gave a short but detailed note on a Caucasian people and their manufactures:

> In the neighbourhood of the kingdom of the Allāns, between the Caucasus and the Sea of Rūm (the Black Sea) are the Katchaks (Kashak). . . . the women wear white garments, Rūmī brocade, and siḳlāṭūn, and various kinds of gold-embroidered brocade. In their country there are various kinds of cloth made of linen of a kind called Ṭalā, finer than Dabīḳī, and more lasting in wear. A garment of this stuff fetches as much as ten dinars. They are carried to the adjoining Islamic countries. These cloths are brought from the near-by countries, but cannot be compared with those of the Katchaks.[105]

Some information is also available about Georgia (Gurdjistān), which country only became Muslim after the invasions of Tamerlane. Marco Polo commented that "silk is produced in great abundance. They also weave cloths of gold and all kinds of very fine silk stuffs."[106] The capital was Tiflis of which Marco Polo said:

> Round it are many towns and cities dependent on it. It is inhabited by Christians, that is by Armenians and Georgians; there are also some Saracens and Jews, but not many. Cloths of silk and

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[101] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 142.

[102] Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II, I, 366 spoke of trousers of khazz-silk called ḳaṭīfa, and (*op. cit.*, I, III, 1485) he mentioned a ḳaṭīfa of brocade (dībādj). Thus, all we can understand by this term is some rich embroidered stuff, sometimes a velvet.

[103] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 142.

[104] See the index to Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*

[105] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, II, 45–46.

[106] Yule, *op. cit.*, I, 52.

> many other kinds are manufactured there. The people live by their handicraft and are subject to the Great King of the Tartars.[107]

Of Ḳars near Tiflis, Yāḳūt [108] said: "Ibrīsm-silk is imported from it. One of its inhabitants told me this." Of Dumānis, he also added: "Ibrīsm-silk is imported from it."[109]

Mustawfī described the ḳirmiz:

> It is a worm resembling the silk-worm. It weaves (a cocoon) round itself and dies within it, but some fly out and lay eggs, and from the material they have woven, the grains of ḳirmiz are made. They are plentiful in Georgia (Gurdjistān).[110]

It might be added that the Georgians bought off the Mongols in 618 H. (1221 A.D.) before Gandja with cloth (thiyāb) and money.[111]

* * *

The arrangement of this chapter has been particularly difficult, because of the constantly changing frontiers, the vague way in which the geographers group these cities, and the confusion which existed about the remoter parts of this region.

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[107] Aldo Ricci, *The Travels of Marco Polo,* trans. from the text of L. F. Benedetto (London, 1931), p. 24.

[108] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 57.

[109] *Op. cit.*, II, 585.

[110] J. Stephenson, *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaufī al-Qazwīnī* (London, 1928), text, p. 64, trans., p. 45.

[111] Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon,* ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leyden, 1851–76), XII, 351.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES:

Raphael de Mans, in his *Estat de la Perse en 1660,* ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1890), made the following statement with reference to Gilan: "Outre ce trafic, il y a des soyes abrichon (ibrīsm) qui se produisent et se recueillent dans le pays de Guilan . . . . Les Arméniens d'ordinaire font ce trafic et les transportent par la Turquie à Smyrne et à Alep." He claimed that Shah Abbas started the Armenians in this trade.

For modern Armenian stuffs manufactured at Mar'ash and Malāṭīya, see Le P. A. Poidebard, "Documents d'art oriental. Anciennes broderies arméniennes," *Revue des études arméniennes* (Paris, 1924).

CHAPTER VII

ṬABARISTĀN, ḲŪMIS, DJURDJĀN

ṬABARISTĀN

WE ARE FORTUNATE IN POSSESSING FROM EARLY SOURCES A FAIRLY COMPLETE RECORD OF the textiles in the province of Ṭabaristān (Map 5). Ibn Isfandiyār (613 H. [1216–17 A.D.]), who wrote a history of this district, had access to authors, both Arabic and Persian, whose works have now perished. The most interesting piece of information which he has preserved is that the Ispahbad, or semi-independent ruler of that country, sent the Abbasid Manṣūr exactly the same tax as had gone to the Sasanians. Manṣūr had previously sent him a crown and a robe of honor presumably of the ṭirāzī kind. This seems also to have been a custom handed down from the Sasanians. The tax consisted of three hundred bales of green silk carpets and quilts, the same amount of good colored cotton, the same amount of gold-embroidered garments of the kind called Rūyānī and Lafūradj (from Lapūr, south of Mamāṭīr on the river Bābul), and the same amount of saffron of a kind unequaled in all the world.[1]

This records the unbroken continuity of the Sasanian system into Muslim times, probably with a similar type of indirect government. Other instances of this type of tax in kind have been previously discussed. It was a Sasanian custom to take the textiles peculiar to the province as part of the tax.

In the reign of Sulaimān ibn ʻAbd al-Malik, the general Yazīd ibn Muhallab invaded the country and forced the Ispahbad to make peace on condition that an annual tribute of 4,700,000 dirhams, four hundred ass loads of saffron, and four hundred men each bearing a shield (turs), a silver cup (djām fiḍḍa), a head scarf (ṭailasān), and a silk saddle cushion (numruḳ ḥarīr) was sent.[2]

The introduction of Ṭabarī stuffs to the caliphs, of which the historian Ṭabarī gave an account, seems to coincide with the payment of the tribute to Manṣūr (136–58 H. [753–74 A.D.]) in Ṭabarī carpets:

> ʻAli ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān said: "I heard my father say that the first person to use Ṭabarī as upholstery was al-Mahdī. That was because his father ordered him to stay in Rayy. Ṭabarī was presented to him from Tabaristān and he used it as furnishing. Ice and willow (khilāf) were placed around it, until the khaish (heavy cloth) was opened up for them, and inside it they found Ṭabarī (furnishings) comfortable."[3]

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[1] Ibn Isfandiyār, *History of Ṭabaristān,* trans. by E. G. Browne (Leyden-London, 1905), p. 118.

[2] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 338. trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), II, 44.

[3] Ṭabarī, *Annales,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901. ser. III, I, 536. Thaʻālibī, *Laṭā'if,* op. cit., 14 seq., describes how, from the time of the Abbasid Caliph al-Manṣūr, heavy cloth (khaish) which, when soaked, retained much water, was placed over a sort of (framework) dome (qubbah), then, at a later time, a sort of coop. The water as it evaporated kept those sitting under it in hot weather cool. From Jāhiz, *al-Bukhalā',* (Cairo, 1948), 90,322, it may be deduced that the whole apparatus was known as a khaish. Thaʻālibī also mentions an earlier device-long platters / layers (aṭbāq) of willow were placed round the room, and large chunks of ice placed length-wise between the willows. Though the actual process is not very clear this is at least what must be intended here.

Djāḥiẓ[4] in the second century, knew that the "best ṭailasāns are the Ṭabarī Rūyānī kind, then those of Amul, then the Egyptian kind (Miṣrī), then the Ḳūmis kind." He,[5] however, placed "Ṭabarī robes (aksiya), then wool (lined?) with wool" after the Egyptian woolen robes (aksiya) and those of Fars, Khuzistan, Shiraz, and Isfahan. In another work[6] of his he said: "I bought a white Ṭabarī robe (kisā') for four hundred dirhams, and from the evidence of their eyes, the people thought it was Ḳūmisī worth a hundred dirhams." Djāḥiẓ lived into the reign of al-Muʿtaṣim in the early third century, and there is a very pretty story in the *Aghānī*[7] the subject of which is just those very Ṭabarī carpets. The singer Isḥāḳ ibn Ibrāhīm related:

> One day ʿAbdallah ibn Ṭāhir brought forth to me two verses on a scrap of paper, and said: "These are two verses which I found on an Isbahbudhī Ṭabarī carpet (bisāṭ), which was brought to me from Ṭabaristān. I should like you to set them to music for me." I read them over, and they went as follows:
>
> Fast close that weeping eye, refrain
> From unavailing passion's strain.
> Alas, my tears scarce cease to fall,
> But plaintive flute doth grief recall.
>
> So I set them to music, and on the morrow I took them to him. He admired the song and presented me with a magnificent gift. He became very much enamored of the lines and often used to ask for them to be sung. I taught them to all his slave girls, and his fondness for the song became widely known.
>
> Now, one day al-Muʿtaṣim was in the audience room and the spring furnishings (fursh al-Rabīʿ) were being displayed in front of him, when a carpet of brocade (bisāṭ al-dībādj), extremely beautiful, passed in front of him, with the above couplet upon it, and in addition, the following:
>
> Death I know can be none other
> Than to be without thy lover.
> Two loves lie there within thy heart.
> Both old and new can claim their part.
>
> So he ordered the carpet to be taken to ʿAbdallah ibn Ṭāhir, saying to the messenger: "Tell him, I know of your fondness for having this verse sung. So when this carpet fell into my hands, I thought I should like to make your pleasure in it complete."
>
> ʿAbdallah was very pleased at being sent this message, made much of it, and said to me: "By Allah, Abū Muḥammad, in truth, my pleasure at the completion of this verse is greater than my pleasure in anything else. So set them to music along with the first two verses." I did so.

The note of the editor of the *Aghānī* suggests that these carpets were named after the little town of Isfahbad[8] in Djīlān (Gilan). This, however was a little-known place, and I venture to suggest that these garments were named after the Ispahbads themselves and were a part of the tribute which came to Baghdad. They ruled there both before and after the Muslim conquest as a semi-independent dynasty, and according to a later passage they controlled at least a part of the industry.

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[4] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," *Revue de l' acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 338. Djāḥiẓ died in 257 H. (869 A.D.), aged over ninety, so his information is particularly early and valuable.

[5] *Op. cit.,* pp. 337–38. Cf. Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 433.

[6] Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān* (Cairo, 1905–7), III, 8.

[7] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–36), V, 428–29.

Ya'ḳūbī[9] (278 H. [891 A.D.]) knew that "in it are made Ṭabarī carpets (fursh), and Ṭabarī robes (aksiya)." Ibn al-Faḳīh[10] reported that "the people of Ṭabaristān, Dailam, and Kazvin share in the manufacture of Rūyānī, and Āmulī robes, and also in the manufacture of the garment shustaka, napkins (mandīl), and many kinds of cloth."[11] The *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*[12] mentions that fashionable ladies wore Ṭabarī cloaks (ardiya).

Iṣṭakhrī said of the products of Ṭabaristān:

> From Ṭabaristān there is brought ibrīsm silk, which supplies all countries, there being no town in Islam which has more ibrīsm than it has.... In Ṭabaristān many garments of silk (ḥarīr) are made which are transported everywhere. The same is true of wool, carpets (fursh), and robes (aksiya).[13]

Other manuscripts mention in addition "various kinds of ibrīsm silk garments, robes, wool, linen shirts (midra'), napkins (mandīl), Ṭabarī carpets (fursh), cloaks for women (mi'zar), silk (ḥarīr) garments." He further noted that the eggs of the silkworm (bizr dūd al-ibrīsm) always came from Djurdjān.

Ibn Ḥawḳal gave an amplified and modified version:

> In the whole of Ṭabaristān ibrīsm silk is manufactured and taken to all countries. In the whole world there is no country, in Islamic or heathen territory, which can come anywhere near Ṭabaristān for abundance of ibrīsm silk. . . . From Ṭabaristān various kinds of ibrīsm silk garments, and precious robes of wool (aksiya al-ṣūf), admirable camelots (barrakānāt) come. In all the world

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[8] See G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), p. 175. The difference in pointing, and the substitution of *dhāl* for the Persian *dāl* make no difference to the above suggestion. Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. [Leyden–London, 1919], XXIII, II) called the city Isfahbad, but Yāḳūt spelled it as Isfahbudān (*Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld [Leipzig, 1866–73]).

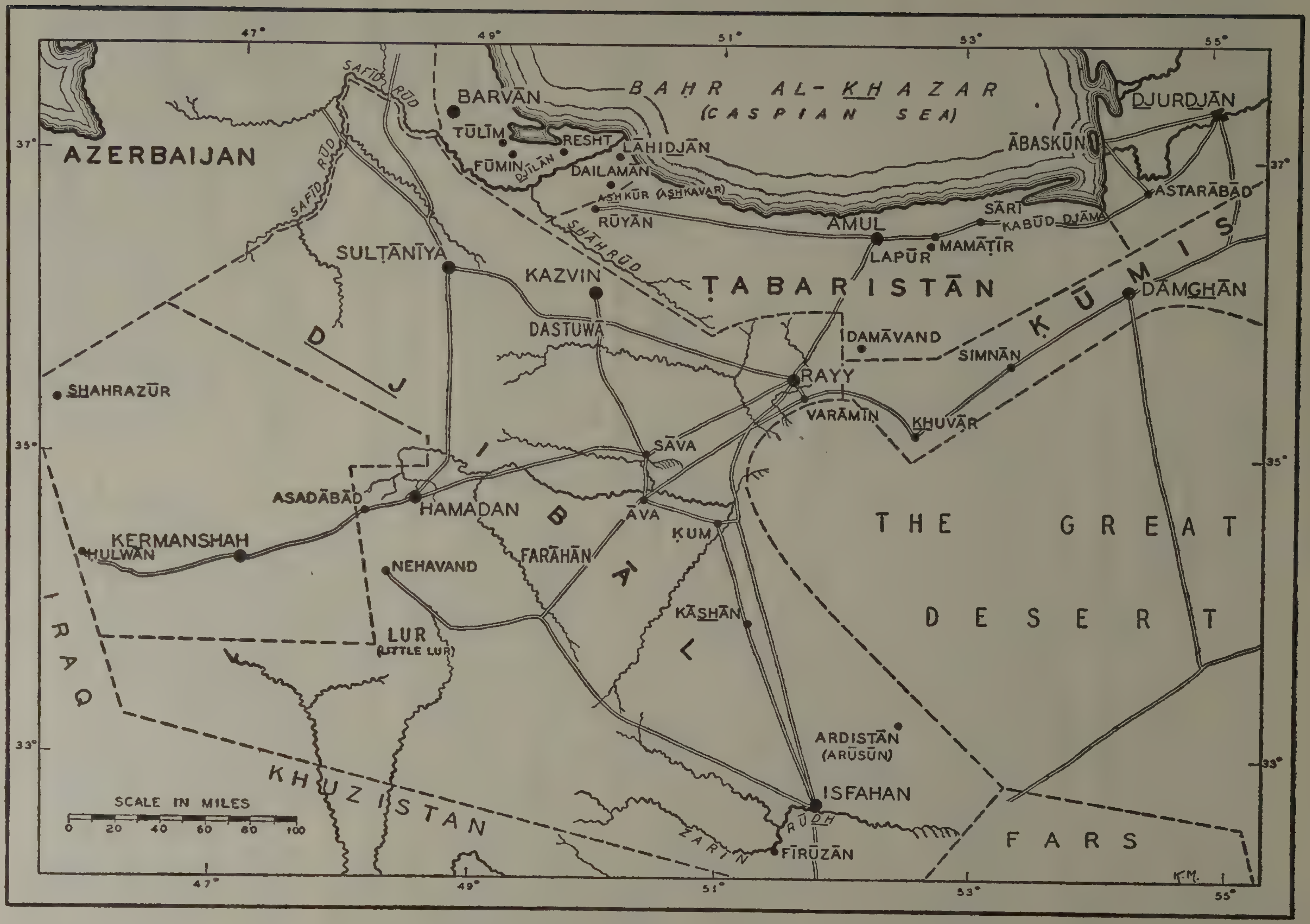
[9] Ya'ḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān, Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (= *B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1892), VII, 277.

[10] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 254.

[11] See the "Glossary" to Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), p. cccxi, "shustaḳa." I suggest here a reading "shasātik" as a plural of "shustaka," instead of "sh s tan k" of the text. Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-Djamāhir*, ed. F. Krenkow (Hyderabad, 1938), p. 202, mentions sh stakāt garments which are made from asbestos called by the Persian emperor Ādhar-shust. It was so named because, as related in many passages in the geographers, when they wished to clean this material they placed it in the fire. He mentioned, referring to the year 390 H. (1000 A.D.), one of these cloths which was tested in the fire. The asbestos was made into threads mixed with cotton flakes. Generally, however, the name seems simply to mean a napkin of some kind. Cf. Ibn Abī 'Uṣaibi'a, *'Uyūn al-Anbā' fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbā'*, ed. A. Müller (Cairo, 1299 H. [1882 A.D.], Preface, Königsberg, 1884), I, 217, where a sh staka is used to contain a drug. See also Tha'ālibī, *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (Damascus, 1866–67), III, 178, where a word "sustadja" is mentioned.

[12] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 126.

[13] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum* . . . ., ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 212.


BAḤR AL-KHAZAR
(CASPIAN SEA)
AZERBAIJAN
BARVĀN
TŪLĪM
FŪMIN
DJILĀN
RESHT
LĀHIDJĀN
DAILAMĀN
ASHKŪR (ASHKAVAR)
RŪYĀN
ĀBASKŪN
DJURDJĀN
ASTARĀBĀD
SĀRĪ
KABŪD DJĀMA
AMUL
LAPŪR
MAMAṬĪR
ṬABARISTĀN
SAFĪD RŪD
SHĀHRŪD
SULṬĀNĪYA
KAZVIN
DASTUWA
DAMĀVAND
RAYY
VARĀMĪN
KHUVĀR
SIMNĀN
ḲŪMIS
DĀMGHĀN
SHAHRAZŪR
DJIBĀL
SĀVA
ĀVA
ḲUM
ASADĀBĀD
HAMADAN
KERMANSHAH
HULWĀN
NEHAVAND
FARĀHĀN
KĀSHĀN
LUR
(LITTLE LUR)
THE GREAT DESERT
IRAQ
KHUZISTAN
ARDISTĀN
(ARŪSŪN)
ISFAHAN
RŪDH
ZARIN
FĪRŪZĀN
FARS
SCALE IN MILES
0
20
40
60
80
100
47°
49°
51°
53°
55°
37°
35°
33°
K.M.

MAP 5—ṬABARISTĀN, ḲŪMIS, DJURDJĀN, AND DJIBĀL there are no robes which fetch the price that their robes, camelots, and miṭraf cloaks do. When they contain gold they are like those of Fars in price or even a little more expensive. In Ṭabaristān too, are made napkins of cotton (mandīl) and Sharābīya (a type of linen garment), plain and gold-embroidered cushions (dasātik sādidja wa mudhahhaba), there being no equal to their gold (woven garments) for wear known among their clothes. Their cotton is like the cotton of Ṣa'da with a yellowish tint, a fine kind of it being made which is much liked by the people of Iraq.[14]

Maḳdisī[15] remarked fields of flax (kattān), and of hemp (ḳunnab) in it and said:

> From Ṭabaristān come the robes (aksiya) which are preferable to those of Fars, ṭailasāns, and garments of coarse cloth (khaish) which are borne to various lands. A great quantity is sold in Mecca, worth a few dirhams, or a great many, which are called "Meccan" in the west, as well as bands (or girdles, lafāfa).[16]

On the authority of al-Yazdādī (who wrote between 366 and 403 H. [976 and 1012 A.D.]), Ibn Isfandiyār gave an account of the cloth trade in Ṭabaristān:

> In early times there used to come to Ṭabaristān and thence be exported to the most distant countries in the earth, satin (aṭlas), woven stuff (nasadj), priceless 'Attābī, and different kinds of precious brocade, valuable siḳlāṭūn . . . . ibrashīm curtains (parda) and those of wool, women's fine cloaks (mi'zar), felts (anmād) better than Djahramī, carpets "in relief" (ḳālī-hā-yi-maḥfūrī).[17]

From here these cloths must have been spread among the tribes of Central Asia, for he also said that Amul was a market for goods for the Saḳsīn and Bulghār up to his own time, and that traders from Iraq, Syria, Khurasan, and the borders of Hindustan used to come to Amul for trading.

The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* has little to add to the other authors:

> Among its own special products are the orange robes (aksiya), napkins of coarse cloth (manādīl khaish), womens' dresses (ghilāla, usually yellow, and often transparent), and cotton caps worn under the turban ('araḳīyāt[18]). One of the strange things about Ṭabaristān is that dirhams are taken to it for the purchase of napkins (mandīl) from all countries, but they are not taken from it.[19]

With regard to the custom of sending Ṭabarī textiles to Mecca it is relevant to quote the following passage from Ibn Isfandiyār:

> The Ispahbad Ḥusām al-Dawla wa'l-Dīn Ardashīr ibn Ḥusain, the ruler of Ṭabaristān (about 579 H. [1183–4 A.D.]) used to set aside five bales of silk for the poor of Mecca, and five bales

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[14] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna. . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae, B.G.A.*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 272.

[15] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 354.

[16] *Op. cit.*, p. 367.

[17] Ibn Isfandiyār, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

[18] R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927); and *idem*, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1854), for ghilāla and 'araḳīya. Cf. R. Levy, "Notes on Costume from Arabic Sources," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1935. For "'araḳīyāt" perhaps "midra'" should be read with some MSS of Iṣṭakhrī *supra*.

[19] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 112.

(rizma) of silk for the poor of Medina. These bales were sold in Baghdad and the money spent on cotton cloth (kirbās) which was divided among the poor.[20]

The same author, also,[21] in a list of taxes which Saladin prescribed on conquering Egypt, included an impost of two hundred and forty dinars on the Ṭabarī manufacture levied at Miṣr and Cairo.

Ḳalḳashandī[22] stated, too, that the Fatimid caliphs had their audience chamber "hung with Dabīḳī curtains (sutūr) and carpeted with splendid Ṭabarī of Ṭabaristān worked with gold (mudhahhab). . . . the throne (sarīr) was covered with Ḳurḳūbī."

After the Mongol conquest, Abu 'l-Fidā' merely quoted Ibn Ḥawḳal and Muhallabī for Ṭabaristān's richness in silk.[23] Gaston Wiet[24] has described a silken stuff which he deduces to have come from Ṭabaristān, and which has human figures represented upon it. The date lies about the middle of the fifth century H. (eleventh century A.D.).

The stuffs which we have been discussing were for the most part made in Amul, the capital of the province. Djāḥiẓ placed the ṭailasāns made in Rūyān before those made in Amul, but these two are the best kinds. Ibn Rusta[25] and Ibn al-Faḳīh[26] both remarked that the Ṭabarī carpets were made there, but the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*[27] has a fairly long list:

> Amul produces linen cloth, kerchiefs of linen and cotton (dastār-i-khīsh), Ṭabarī rugs (farsh), Ṭabarī mats (ḥaṣīr) . . . white Kūmish gilīms with gold thread (zarbāft), and Dailami gilīms of zarbāft, various kerchiefs shot with gold thread (dastārcha-yi-zarbāft), shagreen (kīmukhtā).

Maḳdisī[28] said that Amul had "wonderfully lovely carpets, and pillows (mirfaḳ). . . . it has a profitable trading center and skilled weavers." Yāḳūt remarked: "In Amul are made the Ṭabarī prayer carpets (sadjdjāda) and the lovely carpets (busuṭ)."[29]

To the east of Amul lie Mamāṭīr and Sārī; the former according to the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*[30] produced thick reed mats (ḥaṣīr-ī-sitabr) of very good quality; the latter which was once capital of the province was noted for silk tissues (djāma-yi-ḥarīr va-parniyān). Mustawfī[31] mentioned cotton as grown at Sārī in plenty, but not silk, except in the dependencies of the near-by Kabūd Djāma.

The Rūyānī stuffs have been remarked upon several times in the course of this chapter. The *Ḥudūd*[32] adds that it exports "the red woolen cloth from which raincoats (bārānī) are made as well as blue gilīms which they use in Ṭabaristān itself." Balādhurī[33] noted that Rūyān and Damāvand paid their tax to the early Arabs in money, garments (thiyāb), and vessels (āniya).[34]

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[20] Ibn Isfandiyār, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

[21] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, trans. by U. Bouriant and P. Casanova (Paris, 1900–20), p. 298.

[22] Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), III, 499.

[23] *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, texte arabe . . . . par M. Reinaud et M. le Bon Mac Guckin de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 432, trans. . . . . par M. Reinaud (Paris, 1847–83), II, 175.

[24] G. Wiet, "Un Tissu musulman du nord de la Perse," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, X (1936), 173ff.

[25] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

[26] *Op. cit.*, p. 304.

[27] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 134–35.

[28] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

[29] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 68.

[30] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 134. Spelled Māmaṭīr by Minorsky.

[31] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 157.

[32] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 135; E. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (Oxford, 1927), I, 298.

ĶŪMIS

Most of our authors have commented on the stuffs of Ķūmis, and in a list of exports, Djāḥiẓ[35] gave "garments of goat hair or camel hair (amsāḥ), umbrellas (djitr), and ṭailasāns of wool (ṣūf)," but he added that those ṭailasāns manufactured in Egypt, were of a superior quality. Ya'ķūbī[36] said: "Its inhabitants are Persians, and the most skilled of people, making the valuable Ķūmis garments of wool." Ibn Rusta[37] found that "most of what is sold there consists of white robes (aksiya) for ṭailasāns." Iṣṭakhrī[38] and Ibn Ḥawķal[39] agreed that "well-known robes (aksiya) are taken from Ķūmis to the provinces." The *Ḥudūd*[40] differs little: "Kūmish produces Kūmis textiles and fruit of which there is no like in the world. They are exported to Djurdjān and Ṭabaristān."

Maķdisī was rather more explicit:

> Now, concerning Ķūmis, they have white napkins (mandīl) of cotton with a border (mu'lama), both great and small, plain (sādhidj) and with a selvage (muḥashshāt), the kerchiefs of which may fetch two thousand dirhams. They have also robes (aksiya), ṭailasāns, and fine woolen cloth (thiyāb).[41]

Damghan in particular produces "dessert napkins with fine borders (dastār-hā-yi-sharāb bā 'alam-hā-yi-nīkū)" according to the *Ḥudūd*.[42] Yāķūt[43] noted that excellent napkins (mandīl) were made in Simnān.

DJURDJĀN

The province of Djurdjān manufactured silks, mainly at the capital, a town of the same name which was finally taken by Yazīd ibn Muhallab about (98 H. [716 A.D.]). The *Djirāb al-Dawla* of Ma'mūn's reign gives a thousand pieces of ibrīsm silk as being part of the tribute of the caliphs. Among its exports, Djāḥiẓ[44] numbers soft yarmaķ[45] and excellent ibrīsm silk.

The geographers bear a monotonous similarity to one another. Ya'ķūbī[46] said that various garments of silk (ḥarīr) are made there, and Ibn al-Faķīh: "The people of Djurdjān have ibrīsm silk not to be found in other countries, and it is exported everywhere. They are skilled in the manufacture of brocade, veils (or headcloths, maḳāni‘), garments, curtains (sutūr)."[47]

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[33] Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 338, trans., II, 44.

[34] W. Barthold, *Turkistán at the Time of the Mongolian Invasion*, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1927), n.s., V, 283–84.

[35] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," *op. cit.*, p. 345.

[36] Ya'ķūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

[37] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāķ al-Nafīsa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), III, 170.

[38] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

[39] Ibn Ḥawķal, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

[40] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 135.

[41] Maķdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

[42] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 135. Or is this "napkins of sharāb," a kind of linen cloth, and not "dessert napkins?"

[43] Yāķūt, *op. cit.*, III, 141.

[44] Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

[45] This word is uncertain and the editor suggests narmaķ (Persian narmah), which was a kind of soft cloth. Cf. Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, Glossary, and Djawālīķī, *Kitāb al-Mu'arrab*, ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1867), p. 146.

[46] Ya'ķūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 277.

Iṣṭakhrī said: "A great deal of ibrīsm silk is produced there. The eggs of the silkworm for the ibrīsm silk of Ṭabaristān are brought from Djurdjān, but no ibrīsm is produced from the eggs of the silkworm of Ṭabaristān."[48] Ibn Ḥawḳal added: "The Khazars have no clothing (malbūs), which is only brought to them from the districts of Djurdjān, Ṭabaristān, Azerbaijan, Rūm (Byzantium), and the neighboring lands."[49] This is an important indication of the large trade with Central Asia. The famous textile found by Stein in Turkestan may have come from this region.[50] Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi[51] noted that it had Djurdjānī figured washī stuff.

The *Ḥudūd*[52] says: "Djurdjān produces black silk textiles, long veils (viḳāya), brocade (dībā), and raw silk textiles (ḳazīn)." Maḳdisī[53] added: "The people of Djurdjān have silken veils (maḳāni‘ ḳazzīyāt) which are taken to Yemen. . . . and brocade of a poor kind." The *Laṭā'if al-Ma‘ārif*[54] says: "Some of the products special to Djurdjān are the black garments, stuffs of twisted (silk?) (mabārim), poppy colored garments (?) (thiyāb khashkhāshīya) which excel in fineness and softness the Ḥaffī garments of Nishapur." Yāḳūt[55] quoted the earlier authorities for the exports of ibrīsm silk. Like so many other cities, Djurdjān was ruined at the Mongol conquest.

The second city in Djurdjān province was Astarābād, a place of remote antiquity, the refounding of which is, however, ascribed to the Arabs at the end of the first century of the Hijra. Iṣṭakhrī[56] informed us that "much ibrīsm silk is derived from it. They have a seaport (Ābaskūn) and sail thence to the Khazars, Derbent, Djīl, and Dailam." The *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam*[57] says: "From it come many silk textiles such as mubram and za‘fūrī." Maḳdisī[58] knew that "most of them are weavers of ḳazz silk, and skilled in its manufacture."

The port of Djurdjān and Astarābād was Ābaskūn of which the *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam* says: "It is a haunt for merchants from the whole world trading on the Khazar (Caspian) Sea. . . . From it come shagreen and woolen cloth (kīmukhta va-pashmīn)."[59]

After the conquest by the Mongols, Mustawfī[60] noted that cotton and silk still were found in Djurdjān and silk in Astarābād.

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[47] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, pp. 254–56.

[48] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

[49] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

[50] A. Stein, *On Ancient Central Asian Tracks* (London, 1933), which contains an illustration in color of a textile with the Sasanian pearl pattern.

[51] Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *Al-‘Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 268.

[52] *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam*, p. 133.

[53] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 367.

[54] Tha‘ālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[55] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 49.

[56] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

[57] *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam*, p. 134.

[58] Maḳdisī, p. 358.

[59] *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam*, p. 134.

[60] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

Supplementary note.—Hamadhānī (*Maḳāmāt* [Beirut, 1924], pp. 119 f.), in the fourth century of the Hijra, describes a napkin (mindīl): "It is the weave of Djurdjān, and the manufacture of Arradjān. I came across it and bought it; my wife made part into trousers (sarāwīl), and part into a napkin. Twenty dhirā‘ were used for the trousers, but I took this length out of her hands and gave it to the embroiderer (muṭarriz) so that he made it as you see and gave it a ṭirāz (or embroidered it, ṭarrazahā)."

CHAPTER VIII

DJIBĀL

THE GREAT CERAMIC CENTER RAYY OR RHAGES, IN DJIBĀL, BESIDES BEING FAMED FOR A KIND of lustered pottery and the ware painted with human figures, was also a noted textile center. From several indications in the passages quoted below, this city must have been the possessor of a ṭirāz factory.

Baihaḳī[1] related that the wife of Khālid ibn Barmak sent her husband a robe (kiswa) from Rayy, a folded (or shrunk) ṭailasān (ṭailasān muṭabbaḳ). Though no textiles are mentioned in the *Djirāb al-Dawla* as being sent with the tribute to Baghdad, another early source, Djāḥiẓ,[2] gave a list of exports which includes "yarmaḳ[3] weapons, fine cloth, combs (amshāṭ), royal ḳalansuwa hats (al-ḳalānis al-malikīya), Ḳassī stuffs (al-Ḳassīyāt), and linen." Ibn al-Faḳīh[4] (290 H. [903 A.D.]) added that, besides silk (ḥarīr) and glazed (mudahhan) pottery, they had white ṭirāzī robes (aksiya), and splendid white ṭailasāns, as well as the munaiyar garments (a stuff with a double warp).

Iṣṭakhrī remarked: "There are brought from Rayy and exported to other places, cotton which is taken to Baghdad and Azerbaijan, munaiyar garments, striped cloaks (abrād), and robes (aksiya)."[5] The *Ḥudūd* mentions: "It produces cotton stuffs (kirbās), cloaks (burd), cotton. From its districts come woolen ṭailasāns (scarves worn on the head)."[6] Maḳdisī, too, hardly varied, noting that their cloth (bazz) is renowned, and that "there are brought from Rayy the cloaks (burd), the munaiyar, cotton, and needles (masāll)."[7]

The *Laṭā'if al-Maʿārif* states:

> The specialties of Rayy are the cloaks (burūd) of Rayy of the same description as the Yemen cloaks called ʿAdanīyāt because of their resemblance to the cloaks of Aden in Yemen.[8] Al-Murādī said in describing a falcon (shāhīn): "You would think, when he alights on the swampy ground, that he had scattered the pearls above a robe of Rayy (burd Rāzī)." Another of the specialties of Rayy consists of the munaiyar garments.[9]

This note on the resemblance of these garments to the Aden type is most interesting;

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[1] Al-Baihaḳī (Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad), *Kitāb al-Maḥāsin wa-'l-Masāwī*, ed. P. Schwally (Giessen 1902), p. 211.

[2] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tidjāra," ed. Ḥasan H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l' acad. arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 345.

[3] For yarmaḳ see the note in Chapter VII, n. 45. Ḳassī stuffs are more fully discussed in Chapter XVI, but the reading here is probably incorrect.

[4] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 253–54.

[5] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum . . . .*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 210. Cf. Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna. . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 270.

[6] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 132.

[7] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed.; 1906), III, 391, 395–96.

[8] These may have been made by the "ikat" process, and this may be what the author means when he compares the two types, though burūd are made of wool. See N. P. Britton, *A Study of Some Early Islamic Textiles* (Boston, 1938).

[9] Thaʿālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Maʿārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1876), p. 111.

perhaps one might infer that the original design went from Aden to Persia, and that this might have taken place in the time of the Persian domination of South Arabia. There was a considerable import of textiles of the Sasanian kind into Arabia as we know from a number of sources.

After the conquest, Mustawfī [10] found that cotton and corn grew well in Rayy. Ghāzān Khān brought back some people to it and tried to bring back its former prosperity. As a cloth manufacturing center, however, it seems to have lost all its importance at the time of its destruction.

All the geographers unite to praise the products of Isfahan, the sole dissentient voice being that of Abu 'l-Ḳāsim, whose aim was to satirize the inhabitants of that city.

Ibn Rusta (290 H. [903 A.D.]) knew the products of the districts to the southeast of Isfahan very well, for he said:

> In it (Ruwaidasht) are made the carpets (busuṭ) which chiefs and nobles are not too proud to use as furnishings (farsh), and which are not often found in the possession of the middle and lower classes, their beauty, the excellence of their manufacture, and their durable qualities being renowned throughout all countries. If they are used with the splendid Armenian type of carpeting (farsh), they go very well with it, and the result is very satisfactory. Precious curtains (sutūr) used to be made there, which surpassed those of Mosul and Wāsiṭ in beauty and excellent lasting qualities.[11]

Djāḥiẓ [12] knew of their saffron and fine cloth (thawb) which came from Isfahan, though he placed their robes (aksiya) in an inferior position to the robes of Miṣrī wool, and those from Fars and from Khuzistan.

Ibn al-Faḳīh [13] remarked that it had been said that there were more Jews, weavers, and adulterers in Isfahan than elsewhere. Benjamin of Tudela [14] also spoke of the many Jews in Isfahan, but the tradition that the Jews were planted there in the time of Nebuchadnezzar seems unreliable.

Ibn al-Faḳīh further mentioned the Iṣfahānī 'Attābī, which was in all likelihood an imitation of the famous Baghdad stuff. He wrote:

> .... the second Baghdad, I mean Isfahan and the excellent climate and sweet water with which they have been endowed, and the skill in the various arts which has been given them. They have Merv stuffs and 'Attābī and wonderful mulḥam stuffs (which had a warp of silk, but a woof of some other material), and cloaks (ḥulla) of ibrīsm silk, woven and unwoven (understand "with gold"), and Sa'īdī garments.[15]

These latter garments were also made in Sana. The common types of material made in many provinces of Islam emphasize the cosmopolitan nature of the city's industries.

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[10] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allah Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 59. Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), and Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān,* ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), merely repeat pre-Mongol sources.

[11] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāḳ al-Nafīsa,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), III, 153.

[12] *Djāḥiẓ, op. cit.,* pp. 345 and 337.

[13] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.,* p. 267.

[14] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), p. 58.

[15] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.,* pp. 50 and 254.

According to Iṣṭakhrī[16] Isfahan exported also: "From it ʿAttābī, washī figured stuffs, and all kinds of silk cloth (*thiyāb*) and cotton were brought, and sent to Iraq, Pars, Khurasan and the other provinces." This account was expanded by Ibn Ḥawḳal:

> It is the emporium of Fars, Djibāl, Khurasan, and Khuzistan. . . . From it are brought the ʿAttābī, washī, and other garments of ibrīsm silk and cotton with which Iraq is supplied, and Fars, Djibāl, Khurasan, and Khuzistan. There is nothing like the ʿAttābī of Isfahan in excellence, and luster (or quality, djawharīya). Its saffron is exported to Iraq and other places.[17]

The *Ḥudūd*[18] only gives "silk textiles of different kinds, as cloaks (ḥulla), tabby (ʿAttābī, coarse watered silk), and siḳlāṭūn."

Of Yahūdīya, the citadel of Isfahan, Maḳdisī said: "In it there are many great merchants and skilled artisans as well as cloth which is taken to all regions."[19] Again he remarked that "it has a cloth market (sūḳ al-bazzāzīn) after the manufacture of Sidjistān," and that it is famous for its "elegant cloaks (ḥulla) and earthenware (fakhkhār)." These cloaks are included in the list of luxurious stuffs mentioned in the *Laṭāʾif al-Maʿārif*[20] by a courtier of ʿAḍud al-Dawla.

Idrīsī[21] informed us that "at Isfahan there are factories (métiers) where they make rich silken stuffs such as ʿAttābī, washī, and others, and cotton stuffs. Fine saffron is also found. After Rayy there is no greater town than Isfahan (in Djibāl)."

Ḳazwīnī was unusually communicative about Isfahan:

> It is proverbial for the skill of its artisans and these artisans have a skilled hand for the fine crafts. You cannot see calligraphy (khuṭūṭ) like that of the people of Isfahan, nor any ornament (tazwīḳ) like theirs. This applies to their craftsmen in every art—they surpass other craftsmen to such an extent, that their weavers will weave a veil (khimār) of cotton of a length of four dhirāʿ, the weight of which is four mithḳāls.[22]

Of Nahr Zarīn Rūdh[23] in Isfahan, he said: "Coarse thread is washed in this water, becoming soft and easy to the touch as silk."

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim's satire[24] has preserved some notes on the costume of Isfahan:

> There are spread out therein (i.e., in the houses) Ruwaidasht carpets (zullīya), Iraq velvets (ḳuṭuf Sawādīya), Kurdish cloth (musūḥ[25]), and Djābrawānī cushions (makhādd[26]). Both in sum-

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[16] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 199.

[17] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 261.

[18] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 131.

[19] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, pp. 34, 388, 395–96, 425.

[20] Thaʿālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[21] Idrīsī, *Géographie*, trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris 1836–40), II, 168.

[22] Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 196 and 198.

[23] G. Le Strange calls this locality Zarīnrūdh, and Ruwaidasht Rūdasht.

[24] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 37.

[25] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden 1879–1901), II, 785, noted that in the year 68 H. (687–88 A.D.), Damascus was decorated with musūḥ which must have been some kind of hanging. Again (*ibid.*, II, 1170) he mentioned trousers of musūḥ, in the year 85 H. (704 A.D.).

[26] C. Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire géographique, historique, et littéraire de la Perse* (Paris, 1861), p. 147. Djābrawān, "Ville d' Azerbaijan voisine de Tebriz."

mer and winter you sit upon carpets (zullīya) and coverlets (ʿabā'). On your bodies you wear garments of rough Mervian weave homespun. . . . Your shirts are of a like nature, and also your turbans. . . . When you wish to appear fine you put on shawls, and your children put on striped cloaks (abrād), and turbans of cotton of dark-blue (kuḥlī) color, in the fringes of which hang threads of green and red color.

While Isfahan is under our notice it might be interesting to compare the account of its industries by a certain Raphael de Mans, a European author of the early seventeenth century. This of course, properly speaking, falls outside the scope of our work:

> Un autre trafic est celui des toiles d'or, et d'argent faictes à Hispan, zerbaft, faictes par figures de soye, comme à haute lice, en quoy l'on travaille icy en Hispan à merveille avec peu d'instruments; quatre picquets emmanchées l'un dans l'autre suffisent, car icy tous les ouvriers travaillent avec peu de frais. Toutes ces estoffes avoient cy devant un grand cours et se vendoient bien aux Indes. A présent qu'il y a deffense d'orner de ces estoffes les pelenquis ordinairement aux Indes, ce trafic est fort anéanti. Tel Charbafe (shaʿrbāf), ouvrier, qui avoit vingt et trente destega (dastgāh), (ouvroüers) n'en peut garder deux ou trois, et avec cela ils n'ont pas de l'eau à boire. La plus part de ces ouvriers se sont mis à tisser de la toile joula (čūlā or čūlwārī), ou des taffetas.
>
> L'on trafique encore de tapis de Turquie, qui se fait icy fort beaux et qui se transportent hors de le pais. Mais ceci ne donne pas un grand denier.[27]

Other passages describe how golden thread was made there:

> Les ouvriers principaux icy sont les Charbafes (shaʿrbāf), ouvriers en toile d' or, et d'argent et de soye à haute lice, en quoy ils surpassent l'Occident pour de peu faire quelque chose. Il est vray que les zerbafes, ou estoffes de l'or de Venise, sont ici plus chères et plus estimées à cause qu'ils sont plus chargées d'or et de l'argent, celles d'ici estant plus à la légère. Mesme dans Yezde, l'on tire si délié le fil de talon que l'on le met en estoffe comme or, que durant six mois, l'on auroit de la peine à le discerner d'avec le vrai filet d'or.
>
> Zerkesh (zarkash) sont ceux qui tirent l'or et l'argent en filets par filières si délicats que à peine l'on le voit.
>
> Makkekou (mākū-kūb) sont ceux qui, sur des enclumes très polies et marteaux de mesme, aplatissent cet argent et cet or traicts et les femmes des ouvriers les roulent sur la soye pour les employer.
>
> Ces trois sortes d'ouvriers n'en doivent rien aux nostres pour l'habileté, vu le peu d'instruments dont ils se servent.[28]

OTHER TEXTILE CITIES IN DJIBĀL

Though Hamadan is so large and famous a town, Maḳdisī[29] is the only person who mentioned textiles there: "From Hamadan and its districts come cloth (bazz), fox and sable furs . . . . the most delightful and costly ṭailasāns, as well as beautiful robes (aksiya)." According to Benjamin of Tudela there were many Jews there.[30]

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[27] R. de Mans, *Estat de la Perse en 1660*, ed. C. Schefer (Paris, 1890), p. 186.

[28] *Ibid.*, p. 195. There are of course many travelers who have left accounts of manufactures in Isfahan such as Tavernier and others.

[29] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, pp. 395–96.

The Kazvin robes are mentioned by Ibn al-Faḳīh,[31] and Iṣṭakhrī[32] also added: "Goat hair robes (mar'izzā) and stockings are made there as is well known." Tha'ālibī[33] included these stockings (djawārib) in the list of precious articles of Buwaihid times.

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi[34] mentioned the garments of Dastuwā, and Yāḳūt[35] added that Dastuwā'ī robes are ascribed to it. Idrīsī reported that these stuffs were manufactured at Antioch and stuff very like them in Damascus.[36]

Kum. Maḳdisī[37] said: "From Kum come cloth (bazz) and a great deal of saffron." Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi also knew of its saffron.

Ardistan (modern Arūsūn). Yāḳūt[38] said: "There are brought thence the beautiful garments which are exported everywhere."

Shahrazūr. Abu 'l-Fidā'[39] from earlier sources noted that it had an active commerce in cotton.

In the Īl-Khānid period, Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī[40] gave a list of manufacturing cities. Sulṭānīya,[41] the Mongol capital with its ṭirāz, has been mentioned previously. The other cities are: Varāmīn, which grew up after the destruction of Rayy, cotton; Farāhān, Asadābād, Nehavand, Rūdbār, cotton; Sāva, Fīrūzān, Āva, cotton. In the mountainous regions between Iraq (A'djamī) and Gīlān, Dailamān and Ashkūr also produce cotton.

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[30] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, p. 57.

[31] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 50.

[32] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 201, in one MS only. Cf. Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 573.

[33] Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

[34] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 267.

[35] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 574.

[36] R. Dozy. *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), I, 441, reading Dastuwā'ī for Dastrī. Nevertheless, perhaps a better emendation would be Tustarī. See Chap. XIV, n. 25. al-Suyūṭī, *Lubb al-Albāb*, ed. P. J. Veth, *Specimen e litteris orientalibus. . . .* (Leyden, 1840–51), p. 105, said, however, that Dastuwā is a place near Ahwāz which exports cloth.

[37] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 396.

[38] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 198.

[39] *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, trans. by M. Reinaud (Paris, 1847–83), II, 162.

[40] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op cit.*, pp. 58, 61, 65–66, 71, 73, 75–76.

[41] See Chap. II, n. 50.

CHAPTER IX

KHURASAN

MUCH EARLY INFORMATION ON THE TEXTILE EXPORTS OF THIS AREA IS AVAILABLE (Map 6). The ṭirāz system was established there at an early date, for the *Aghānī*[1] mentions a certain al-Muʻallā ibn Ṭarīf, a slave given to al-Mahdī by Manṣūr and liberated by his new master: "He was made governor of the ṭirāz factories and post offices (barīd) in Khurasan" (*ca.* 150 H. [767 A.D.]). He was later made governor of Ahwāz. The *Djirāb al-Dawla* cited by Ibn Khaldūn[2] notes that a thousand ingots of silver, and 27,000 garments (thawb) were sent with the tribute from Khurasan to Baghdad. Ibn Khurdādbih[3] reported that 1,187 pieces of coarse Kundadjī muslin (karābis kundadjīya) and striped cloaks (burūd) came from Khurasan as part of the tribute. In the early third century, the *Aghānī*[4] mentions Khurāsānī cloaks (ḳabā') and chests of Khurāsānī cloth presented to a singer by the governor of that province.

Iṣṭakhrī,[5] followed by Ibn Ḥawḳal,[6] said: "In Khurasan are the best stuffs of cotton and ibrīsm silk which come from Nishapur and Merv, and the finest cloth (bazz) from Merv." It is worth noting that Iṣṭakhrī mentioned these two ṭirāz cities together. The migration of workmen from the ṭirāz of Bokhara to Khurasan about the end of the third or early fourth century was remarked by Narshakhī, who, however, added that they did not succeed well there.

With regard to Merv, we have more references than to almost any other city. A passage from Ibn Ḥawḳal may help to show its importance to the Abbasids: "From Merv emerged the dynasty of the Banū ʻAbbās, and it was in the house (dār) of the family of Abū Nadjm al-Muʻaiṭī that the first black (the color of the Abbasids) ever dyed was dyed, and the Musawwida (their followers) arrayed themselves in it."[7] Now, we know from discoveries of actual examples of Mervian cloth, the type of material made there, and furthermore, that a ṭirāz factory existed though there are no literary allusions to it. It is very reasonable to suppose that the Abbasids established a ṭirāz in the city which must have supplied them with much equipment for their attack on Umayyad power, and it was almost certainly one of the

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[1] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–36), VI, 240.

[2] Ibn Khaldūn, *Les Prolégomènes,* trans. by M. de Slane (Paris, 1863–68), I, 364, ed. by M. Quatremère (Paris, 1858), pp. 322–23. For variant readings, see Chap. I, n. 9.

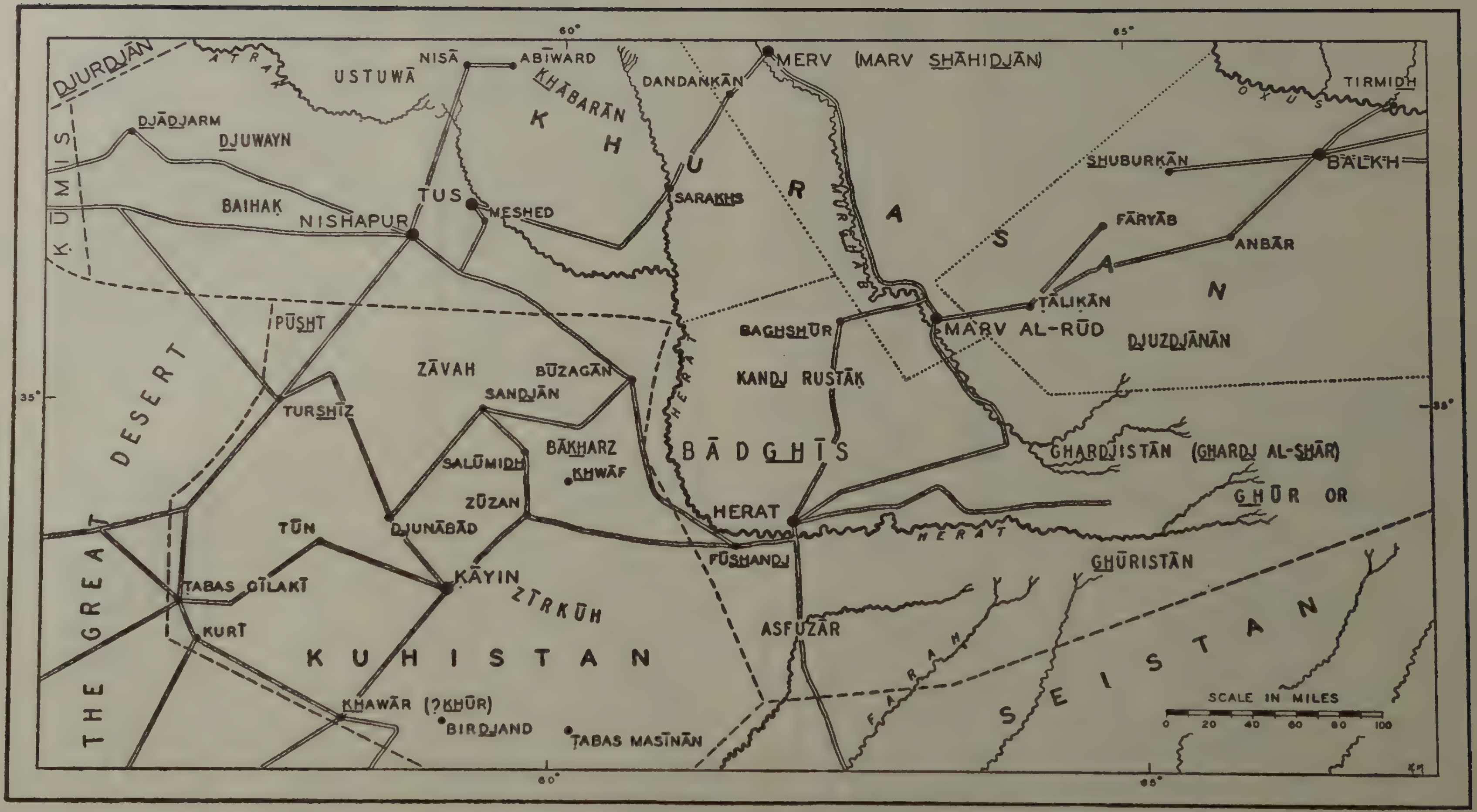
[3] Ibn Khurdādbih, *Kitāb al-Masâlik wa 'l-Mamâlik,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (= *B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1889), VI, text p. 38, trans. p. 28. Kundadjī is probably the same word as Kundakī (coarse garments) made at Arradjān. See *Indices, Glossarium et Addenda . . . ,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1879), IV. The reading "burūd" is doubtful and only appears in Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 340. The text has "murūr" or "ḳudūr."

[4] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.,* V, 294.

[5] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum . . . .,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 282.

[6] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna . . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 330.

[7] *Ibid.,* p. 316, Cf. *Géographie d'Aboulféda,* texte arabe, ed. M. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 446, trans. (Paris, 1847–83), II, 186.


DJURDJĀN
KŪMIS
ATRAK
USTUWĀ
NISĀ
ABĪWARD
KHĀBARĀN
DJĀDJARM
DJUWAYN
BAIHAḲ
TUS
MESHED
NISHAPUR
DANDANKĀN
MERV (MARV SHĀHIDJĀN)
SARAKHS
KHURASAN
OXUS
TIRMIDH
SHUBURKĀN
BALKH
FĀRYĀB
ANBĀR
TĀLIKĀN
MARV AL-RŪD
DJUZDJĀNĀN
MURGHĀB
PŪSHT
ZĀVAH
BŪZAGĀN
SANDJĀN
BAGHSHŪR
KANDJ RUSTĀḲ
TURSHĪZ
BĀKHARZ
KHWĀF
SALŪMIDH
BĀDGHĪS
GHARDJISTĀN (GHARDJ AL-SHĀR)
GHŪR OR
ZŪZAN
HERAT
TŪN
DJUNĀBĀD
FŪSHANDJ
GHŪRISTĀN
TABAS GĪLAKĪ
KĀYIN
ZĪRKŪH
KURT
ASFUZĀR
KUHISTAN
FARAH
SEISTAN
KHAWĀR (?KHŪR)
BIRDJAND
TABAS MASĪNĀN
THE GREAT DESERT
SCALE IN MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
60°
65°
35°
KM

Map 6—Khurasan and Kuhistan

ṭirāz cities under the control of Ibn Ṭarīf. Yāḳūt[8] stated that Ma'mūn, who for a time actually resided in Merv, and, like Ibn Ṭarīf, had control of the ṭirāz of Khurasan, was very fond of the soft cotton (ḳuṭn) of Merv.

The Merv stuffs resembled those of the Tinnīs-Damietta group and bore silk inscriptions. An example will be found in the *Répertoire chronologique,*[9] dated 293 H. (906 A.D.), the reign of al-Muḳtafī.

D̲j̲āḥiẓ[10] knew it as exporting Mervian carpets (ṭinfisa) and Mervian cloth, and Ya'ḳūbī[11] said: "In it are the excellent garments (t̲h̲iyāb) numbered among the Khurasan garments." Ibn al-Faḳīh[12] added that "the people of Merv have Mervian garments and outstanding mulḥam cloth (with a double warp) which are the finest of their kind." It is probably to those mulḥam stuffs that the *Kitāb al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā*[13] refers when it speaks of mulḥam of k̲h̲azz silk and Khurasan as being worn by elegant ladies and gentlemen in Baghdad.

Iṣṭak̲h̲rī[14] gave the following curious notes on the industry:

> It produces ibrīsm silk and much ḳazz silk. I have heard that the origin of ibrīsm in D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān and Ṭabaristān was by transference in olden times from Merv. Perhaps the silkworm was brought from it to Ṭabaristān. From it is brought the cotton which is called after it, soft cotton, and the garments despatched to all regions.

This compares with Ibn Ḥawḳal's account:

> There is brought from Merv, ibrīsm silk, and much ḳazz silk. It is said that the origin of ḳazz silk in D̲j̲urd̲j̲ān and Ṭabaristān in former times was from Merv. From it is brought the cotton which is named after it in other countries. It is of the utmost softness. There are brought from it the garments despatched to all countries.[15]

By "former times" the author is probably referring to some time in the Sasanian era, as silk stuffs were sent from Ṭabaristān to Iraq before the Muslim conquest.[16] Even Africa and Spain imported or imitated those Mervian stuffs, for "une belle housse d'étoffe mervienne" is mentioned in Africa in the latter half of the ninth century in Bakrī's account of the province's history under Idrīsid rule.[17]

Brief notes occur in the *Ḥudūd*: "Merv produces good cotton...textiles of raw silk

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[8] Yāḳūt, *Mu'd̲j̲am al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), IV, 508.

[9] *Répertoire chronologique d' épigraphie arabe,* ed. É. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet (Cairo, 1931), III, 39. Cf. G. Wiet, *L' Exposition persane de 1931* (Cairo, 1933).

[10] D̲j̲āḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tid̲j̲āra," ed. Ḥasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l' acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 343.

[11] Ya'ḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān, B.G.A.,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1892), VII, 279.

[12] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 254.

[13] Al-Was̲h̲s̲h̲ā', *Kitāb al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā,* ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), pp. 124 and 126.

[14] Iṣṭak̲h̲rī, *op. cit.,* p. 263.

[15] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 316.

[16] See Chap. VII.

[17] Al-Bakrī, *Description de l' Afrique septentrionale,* trans. by M. de Slane (Alger, 1913), p. 187.

(ḳazzīn) and of mulḥam silk."[18] Maḳdisī[19] added: "From Merv come mulḥam stuffs, and head veils (maḳāni') of ḳazz silk, ibrīsm silk, and cotton." The Spanish Arab Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi[20] knew that Merv was famous for its garments, mentioning it among other ṭirāz cities, and Tha'ālibī[21] reported that al-Mustakfī left the number of 63,000 Khurasan Merv and Shu'aibī[22] garments, and 13,000 Merv turbans ('imāma). Miskawaihī[23] called these Merv turbans "Shāhidjānī" (*ca.* 372 H. [982 A.D.]), and they were one of the most famous products of the city.

The loose sense in which the term Mervi was applied was commented upon by Tha'ālibī (350–429 H. [961–1073 A.D.]):

> The Arabs used to call every close woven garment brought from Khurasan "Marawī" and every fine garment exported from it "Shāhidjānī," because Merv in their eyes was the chief city of Khurasan and was called Marv Shāhidjān. The name Shāhidjānī has persisted for the fine robes to this day. The particular article for which Merv is noted is the mulḥam cloth. One day Abu 'l-Fatḥ al-Bustī al-Kātib said to me: "Do you know a town, the first letter of which is a mīm, whence four things are brought by way of gifts, the name of each beginning with a mīm?" I replied, "If you ask me to say offhand, I do not know, but I could think it over, and perhaps I might discover it." He answered: "It is Merv, whence come mulḥam, pastry (mulabban), cake (murrī), and brooms (makānis)."[24]

Idrīsī said: "From this country is derived much silk and 'bourre de soie' as well as cotton of a superior quality under the name of Merv cotton, which is extremely soft. It is with this cotton that they make the various stuffs designed for export."[25] Yāḳūt was more precise and mentioned Shāwashkān, a village of Merv: "To it is ascribed extremely good ibrīsm silk which I have actually seen."[26]

In the Ṭāhirid period Merv ceased to be the capital, which was transferred to Nishapur, but this did not affect its fame. In the Mongol invasion it was completely destroyed and all the inhabitants but four hundred artisans murdered. The city never recovered, and though Abu 'l-Fidā' mentioned large exports of ibrīsm silk and cotton this must refer to the Abbasid period.[27]

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[18] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 105.

[19] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 324.

[20] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 267–68.

[21] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 72. Cf. *Yatīmat al-Dahr* (Damascus, 1866–67), II, 62, mentioning "a white Merv turban." The word translated as "close woven" might perhaps better be rendered by "coarse" in antithesis to the fine stuffs.

[22] See R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes,* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), for this as yet uncertain name.

[23] Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate,* ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), text, III, 44, trans., VI, 41.

[24] Tha'ālibī, *op. cit.,* pp. 119–20.

[25] Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 467.

[26] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* III, 245.

[27] *Géographie d' Aboulfeda,* text, p. 446, trans., II, 186. Other texts where Mervian stuffs are mentioned are Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge,* ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth, Or. Trans. Fund, text, p. 218, trans., p. 229; Mutanabbī, *Dīwān* (Beirut, 1882), p. 17, who calls it "ape's dress," and *The Arabian Nights,* trans. by E. W. Lane (New York, 1927), p. 320. As an epithet, the adjective "soft" is usually applied to it. Al-Muṭarrizī (Nāṣir

Nishapur, too, was early famed for its textile manufactures. The name of the city is derived from the Sasanian Shapur, either the first or second monarch of that name. Possibly after the fashion of Persian rulers, prisoners of war and deportees were settled there. Its prosperity, however, dates from the time when ʻAbdallah ibn Ṭāhir made it his capital in the third (ninth) century. It is curious that so many cities founded by the Sasanian monarchs should have possessed a ṭirāz.

Ibn al-Faḳīh (290 H. [903 A.D.]) stated: "The people of Nishapur have the mulḥam and Ṭāhirid cloths, and also tākhtandj and rākhtandj which no other people have."[28] This Ṭāhiri cloth figures in no other geographer, though tākhtandj and rākhtandj are not uncommon. The name would seem to refer to the cloth which was made for the Ṭāhirid governors in Nishapur, possibly with a ṭirāz border, the style of which may have persisted after they lost their power. The ʻArīb[29] stated that the Caliph al-Muḳtadir used to ride in a cloak (ḳabā') of this tākhtandj (twisted material, twisted silk?); al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi' talked of trousers (sarāwīlāt) of Dabīḳī, turbans (ʻimāma), shirts (durrāʻa), and linings of tākhtandj.[30]

Iṣṭakhrī[31] was very brief: "Various kinds of cotton and ibrīsm silk are made there which are taken to all the countries of Islam and all the heathen countries on account of their abundance and excellence." Ibn Ḥawḳal was more prolix:

> There are many khans and depots (funduḳ) where merchants stay with merchandise for the purpose of doing business there. . . . Those who are not wealthy have a market in another place and depots (funduḳ) where those skilled in their crafts stay in constructed booths and among working people. The factories (ḥānūt) filled with craftsmen such as the makers of ḳalansuwa caps have in the middle of their market a depot (funduḳ) in which are many booths. The shoemakers (asākifa), cobblers (kharrāz), ropemakers (ḥabbāl), ... are after this style. As for the funduḳ of the clothmakers (bazzāz) and their storehouses (khānbārāt) therein, and trade, most countries have a part in that and are not to be found missing. . . . From it are brought various kinds of cloth (bazz) and splendid garments of cotton and ḳazz silk taken to Islamic and some heathen countries on account of their abundance, excellence, and the fondness of kings and nobles for wearing them, because the like of them does not come from any land and could not be made in any other district.[32]

The *Ḥudūd*[33] summarily says: "It produces various textiles (djāma), silk, and cotton." Maḳdisī[34] was the first author to notice its ṭirāz factory: "There is no equal to the

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ibn ʻAbd al-Saiyid al-Muṭarrizī) in *al-Mughrib fī Tartīb al-Muʻrib* (Ḥaidarabad, 1328 H.), who was born in 538 H. (1143–44 A.D.) said (II, 12): "The ṭirāz is the ornamented border (ʻalam) of the cloth (thawb), and a 'thawb ṭirāzī' is named after the ṭirāz. It is also the name of a place in Merv, and a quarter (maḥālla) is also called Ṭirāz." Again he said (*op. cit.*, II, 183): "The two Mervs are Marw al-Rūdh and Marw al-Shāhidjān, both in Khurasan, and according to Khwāhar-zāda, Mervian cloth (thiyāb) . . . . is named after a district (balad) in Iraq, on the bank of the Euphrates." It is difficult to assess the reliability of these statements. (Ref. from M. Minovi.)

[28] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 254. It is, however, just possible that this Ṭāhirī cloth is named after Ṭāhirīya in Khoresm where it may have originated, though Ṭāhirīya is not specifically mentioned as a textile center.

[29] ʻArīb, *Ṭabarī continuatus*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1897), p. 167.

[30] Al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Leyden, 1904), pp. 175–76.

[31] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 255.

[32] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 311.

[33] *Ḥudūd al-ʻĀlam*, p. 102.

[34] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, pp. 325 and 323.

brocade (dīwādj), ṭirāz, clay (ṭīn), Shāhidjānī (stuff), needles, knives, and white currants (rībās) of Nishapur." Of its products he said:

> There are brought from Nishapur white ḥaffī [35] garments, and the baibāf,[36] the ḥaffī Shāhidjānī turbans (ʻimāma), rākhtandj and tākhtandj, veils called "between garments" and the mulḥam stuff (with a double warp) with ḳazz silk, the cloth of one color (muṣmat), ʻAttābī, Saʻīdī,[37] ẓarā'ifī,[38] mushṭī,[39] striped cloaks (ḥulla), and garments of goat hair (thiyāb al-shaʻr) as well as expensive thread (ghazl). . . . From the districts of Nishapur come many coarse cloths.

The Shāhidjānī stuffs may have been imitated from those of Merv.

The *Laṭā'if al-Maʻārif* [40] gives an account which varies considerably from that of Maḳdisī, though the two texts are similar enough for corruptions to be suspected:

> Among the specialties of Nishapur are the ḥaffī garments, and Aṣīrī kerchiefs (mandīl), tākhtandj and rākhtandj, and cloth of one color (muṣmat). As regards striped cloaks (ḥulla), ʻAttābī, and siḳlāṭūn stuffs, Baghdad and Nishapur share in them. Sābirī is the fine soft kind of any garment but the origin of it is the attribution to Nishapur which is arabicized to Sābirī.

Nāṣir-i-Khusraw compared its thread with that of Miṣr:

> From a trustworthy cloth merchant I have heard that they buy one dirham-weight of thread (rīsmān) for three Maghribī dinars, i.e. three and a half Nīshāpūrī dinars. So I asked in Nishapur at how much they bought the best thread and they said that the best variety sold at one dirham for five dirham weights.[41]

Idrīsī [42] mentioned, *en passant,* the ṭirāz factories of the city.

These cloths were popular among the fashionable in Baghdad for the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* [43] talks of ṭailasāns of Nīshāpūrī mulḥam stuff among the clothes of a gentleman, while ladies wore Nishapur veils (maḳāniʻ).

During the Mongol conquest, the hordes from Central Asia, completely sacked the city, and it never recovered completely, and as we can see from Ibn Baṭūṭa [44] (756 H. [1355 A.D.]) the very type of manufacture changed: "At Nishapur are made silken garments (ḥarīr) of nakhkh and velvet (kamkhā) . . . ., which are taken to India." These stuffs were also made in Baghdad and Tabriz.[45]

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[35] A kind of cloth made with the instrument known as ḥaff. See Chap. V, n. 55.

[36] M. J. de Goeje in "Indices," *Glossarium et Addenda . . . . B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1879), IV, suggests that this kind of garment is derived from the Persian pai-bāf, a weaver.

[37] This stuff was made in the Yemen at Sana, according to al-Bakrī. See de Goeje, *op. cit.* Saʻīdī is a material as yet unidentified.

[38] Another unidentified stuff.

[39] Stuff made with a comb. See Chap. V, n. 55.

[40] Thaʻālibī, *op. cit.,* p. 116. Cf. *Thimār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 429.

[41] Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma,* ed. and trans. by C. Schefer, *Relation du Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau,* Publications de l'école des langues orientales vivantes (Paris, 1881), II, I, text p. 52.

[42] Idrīsī, *Idrisii Palaestina et Syria,* ed. J. Gildemeister (Bonn, 1885), p. 14.

[43] Al-Washshā', *op. cit.,* pp. 124 and 126.

[44] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), III, 81.

[45] *Ibid.,* II, 311.

Nuwairī[46] (d. 732 H. [1332 A.D.]) noted the fine Nishapur garments as being the specialty of the town, but he was probably following pre-Mongol sources.[47]

OTHER TEXTILE CENTERS

In the Nishapur quarter of the province lay a group of industrial towns. One manuscript of Iṣṭakhrī,[48] remarking that Ṭīb trouser cords are unsurpassed, adds: "... except for what has been introduced in Ṭūs, and they make in it a kind finer than those of Ṭīb." The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*[49] says that: "It produces trouser cords (shalvār-band) and stockings." Maḳdisī[50] added: "From Ṭūs come beautiful trouser cords (tikka) and fine striped cloaks (abrād)."

"From Ustuwā," said Maḳdisī,[51] "much cloth is brought." East again of this is Nisā, of which he remarked: "From Nisā and Abīward are brought ḳazz silk and garments of it . . . . and zanbaft (garments of womens' weaving ?[52]), and from Nisā, banbūzī[53] garments and fox furs." The Mongol leader Tādjin Nuwīn demanded 10,000 dhirāʿ of stuff (khām) from the city at the time of the conquest, so it must have had considerable manufactures.[54] On the borders of the desert between Khorésm (Khwārizm) and Nishapur was Shahrastān, three days away from Nisā. Yāḳūt[55] said: "There are made in it the long turbans (ʿimāma) of high price. I can find nothing to approve of in them." Ḳazwīnī[56] said: "From it are exported the long turbans of high price and its people are skilled in manufacturing them."

Of Sarakhs, Yāḳūt[57] noted: "Its inhabitants have a skilful hand for the manufacture of veils (maḳāniʿ), and turbans embroidered in colors and gold (ʿaṣā'ib manḳūsha wa-mudhahhaba)." Ḳazwīnī[58] repeated this: "Its inhabitants have a skilled hand for the manufacture of turbans and veils embroidered with gold (manḳūsha) which are taken thence to other countries and named after it."

From Dandanḳān, Merv probably drew cotton for its manufactures, but only Abu 'l-Fidā'[59] has deigned to notice its products, following an earlier authority: "This district is one of the most plentiful countries for silk (ḥarīr). Its cotton is proverbial for excellence. These two products are exported."

Herat was famed for its materials in the early Umayyad period, and a Herat loose shirt without sleeves (ḳarḳar Harawī[60]) is mentioned in the *Aghānī*,[61] and precious Herat robes are noted at Mecca in the time of ʿUmar ibn Abī Rabīʿa. They were probably yellow for Ṭabarī[62] mentioned in the annals for the year 77 H. (696 A.D.) that Ḳutaiba wore a yellow Herat cloak (ḳabāʾ Harawī aṣfar). As early as the reign of ʿAbd al-Malik, Mudjīr al-Dīn[63] said that the servants in the Dome of the Rock wore striped stuffs of Merv and Herat called ʿaṣb, thus they must have been exported even then. Ṭabarī[64] heard that Manṣūr once wore a patched Herat djubba, a fact in keeping with his character.

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[46] Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1927–37), I, 363.

[47] Isḥāḳ b. al-Ḥusain, *Kitāb Ākām al-Mardjān*, ed. A. Codazzi, *Rend. d. r. accad. naz. dei Lincei*, VI (1929), V (*ca.* 340 H. [950 A.D.]), mentions garments of silk (ḥarīr) and cotton.

[48] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[49] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 103.

[50] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

[51] *Ibid.*, p. 319.

[52] *Ibid.*, p. 324. Perhaps "zarbaft" should be read here.

[53] In *Indices, Glossarium et Addenda*, de Goeje suggests that this word is derived from the Persian panba, "cotton."

[54] Muḥammad al-Nassawī, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti*, ed. by O. Houdas (Paris, 1891), III, IX, 58. Khām probably means raw silk here.

[55] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 343. See also Map. 4.

[56] Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 266.

[57] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 72.

[58] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, II, 261.

[59] *Géographie d' Aboulféda*, text, p. 459, trans., II, 197.

Maḳdisī[65] gave as its products: ". . . . much cloth (bazz), cheap brocade, and taffeta (Khuldī)." Stuffs of this name were sent by one of the Marīnid sultans to the Mameluke al-Malik al-Nāṣir, but whether they came from Herat or were made in Spain, it is impossible to say.[66] Thaʿālibī[67] noted that "from Herat muslins (kirbās), twisted stuffs (mubram), and brocades are exported."

Mustawfī[68] reported that at the time of the kings of Ghūr, there were 12,000 shops in Herat, which would argue great prosperity.

In the region east of Herat known as Ghardj al-Shār (later called Ghardjistān), Maḳdisī[69] remarked the special products "felts (lubūd), beautiful carpets (busuṭ), and saddle trappings with all that implies (ḥaḳāʾib, saddle-cushions, etc)."

Balkh does not seem to have been particularly famous for its textiles. According to Maḳdisī: "Belts (wiḳāya) after the manufacture of Djurdjān, and striped cloaks"[70] were made. The *Faḍāʾil al-Balkh*[71] only mentions the ibrīshm silk of Fergana as being produced there (610 H. [1214 A.D.]). The sequence of its history was broken by the Mongol conquest, and Ibn Baṭūṭa found it a complete ruin.

Of Djuzdjānān, the western quarter of the Balkh district of Khurasan, the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*[72] says: "It produces felts, saddle bags (ḥaḳība), saddle girths (tang-i-asp), zīlū, and palas" (the last a woolen garment worn by the poor). It includes the city of Ṭāliḳān, which is well documented. Djāḥiẓ[73] found that "the best felts are the Chinese (Ṣīnī) variety, then the red Maghribī kind, then the white Ṭāliḳānī variety, then the Armenian, then those of Khurasan." Ya'ḳūbī [74] said: "In it are made the Ṭāliḳān felts." Mas'ūdī [75] (219 H. [834 A.D.]) mentioned them too. Idrīsī [76] said: "They make felts of cloth renowned everywhere. There are none so solid and compact as those."

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[60] See the "Glossary" to Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), under ḳarḳar.

[61] Abu ʾl-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, I, 259 ff. and the twenty-first volume of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* . . . ., ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1888), p. 152.

[62] Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II, II, 963.

[63] H. Sauvaire, *Histoire de Jérusalem et d'Hebron . . . . par Moudjîr ed-dyn* (Paris, 1876), pp. 52–53. In southwest Arabia ʿaṣb was an ikated cloth.

[64] Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, III, I, 415. See Chap. II, Pt. I. Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, III, I, 569, said that when al-Hādī's mother, Khaizurān, died, she left 18,000 of the garments called ḳarḳar.

[65] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

[66] Maḳḳarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagne*, ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855–61), II, 711. The plural Khalādī is given here which might perhaps be derived from the Khuld Palace or the near-by districts of Baghdad.

[67] Thaʿālibī, *Laṭāʾif al-Maʿārif*, p. 119, and *Thimār al-Ḳulūb*, p. 431.

[68] Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 150.

[69] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

[70] *Op. cit.*

[71] C. Schefer, *Chrestomathie persane* (Paris, 1883–85), I, 96. See W. Barthold, *Turkistán at the Time of the Mongolian Invasion*, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1927), n.s., V, 36, for remarks on this work.

[72] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 106.

[73] Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, p. 338.

KUHISTAN

Kuhistan was one of the dependencies of Khurasan, from quite early times noted for a cloth which went by the name of Ḳūhī. In the *Aghānī* there is a pleasant little story of the poet 'Umar ibn Abī Rabī'a (d. 101 H. [719 A.D.]). The poet was in love with a lady but her people disapproved of the most eloquent and seductive versifier of the time, and they married her to another man. 'Umar, carried away by his passion for the lady, wrote a verse upon a piece of Ḳūhī cloth and . . . . ornamented it and sent it to her—a fashion among lovers.[77] Ibn Suraiḥ [78] spoke of girls in Ḳūhī and washī figured stuff who looked like dinars of Heraclius—probably because of their golden color, or because of the gold embroideries.

Ṭabarī [79] mentioned a shirt (ḳamīṣ) of Ḳūhī at the court of al-Manṣūr (144 H. [761 A.D.]) in Baghdad. In the year 160 H. (776–77 A.D.) [80] he told how the emirs and dihḳāns brought the governor of Balkh presents, the governor of Herat and Khurasan bringing, besides gold and silver plates, "Mervian brocade, and Ḳūhī and Herati brocade (al-dībādj al-Marawī wa 'l-Ḳūhī wa 'l-Harawī)." Again a poem in the *Annals* [81] for the year 198 H. (813–14 A.D.) says: "More splendid and cleaner than new Ḳūhī." And again, Tha'ālibi [82] wrote that al-'Abbās ibn al-Ḥasan, the vizier of al-Muktafī (289–95 H. [902–7 A.D.]) used to say: "The likeness of a wise man is like the way of a tailor (khaiyāṭ) who one day cuts out brocade (buzyūn) worth a thousand, and the next, Ḳūhī, worth ten." The *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* [83] mentions soft Ḳūhī linings (mubaṭṭanāt).

Iṣṭakhrī [84] stated that "muslins (kirbās), cloth (musūḥ), and carpet strips (nikhākh), are taken to various regions, but there are no expensive materials there." Maḳdisī [85] knew that "from Kuhistan come the garments resembling the white Nishapur variety and carpets (busuṭ) and prayer carpets (muṣallayāt)." Speaking of Sind, he said: "In all the province, carpets (busuṭ) and the like, of the kind made in Kuhistan and Khurasan are manufactured . . . . From it are brought beautiful garments."[86]

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[74] Ya'ḳūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

[75] Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), VII, 117.

[76] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 468.

[77] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, I, 236. The word omitted here is uncertain. It seems probable that the verses (not given here) were embroidered on the stuff.

[78] *Ibid.*, I, 310 and 363. The latter mentioned a shirt (ḳamīṣ) of this material. Cf. Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, II, 799.

[79] Ṭabarī, *op. cit.*, III, I, 188.

[80] *Ibid.*, II, III, 1635–36.

[81] *Ibid.*, III, II, 949.

[82] Tha'ālibī, *Syntagma dictorum brevium et acutorum*, ed. J. P. Valeton (Leyden, 1844), p. 34.

[83] Al-Washshā', *op. cit.*, p. 124.

[84] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

[85] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

[86] *Ibid.*, 481. Cf. Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 268. Djāḥiẓ, *Kitāb al-*

Ḳāyin, the capital of the province, is scantily documented. Maḳdisī[87] merely remarked that much cloth (bazz) is brought from it. Yāḳūt[88] said: "Much cloth (bazz) is brought to it and it is the trading center of Khurasan, and the treasury (khizāna—or store) of Kerman." Mustawfī[89] remarked on its production of saffron.

Tūn, according to Maḳdīsī,[90] had many weavers (ḥāka) and workers in wool (ṣunnā‘ al-ṣūf)." Nāṣir-i-Khusraw[91] said: "In this town there were four hundred factories (kārgāh) which wove zīlū."

Ibn Baṭūṭa,[92] talking of Djām (the modern Shaikh Djām), said: "Most of its trees are mulberry trees and there is much silk there." In the time of Maḳdisī,[93] Zūzan "had many weavers and makers of felts (lubūd)." Khawār, said Ḳazwīnī,[94] produced much cotton which was taken to other lands.

The *Ḥudūd*[95] gives a list of places producing muslin (kirbās), some of which are identifiable, others of which are not to be found on the map (372 H. [982 A.D.]): Kurī, Khāymand, Salūmidh, Herat, Būzagān, Sandjān, and Zūzan.

For the record of Īl-Khānid times, one must again turn to Mustawfī: "Turshīz, Tūn, Zīrkūh, and Djunābād produce silk; Zāva, silk and cotton; Khwāf, silk and madder; and Ṭabas Gīlakī, cotton."[96]

Abu 'l-Fidā'[97] quoting the *Lubāb,*[98] said of Ṭabasain: "They export a celebrated silk (ḥarīr) under the name of Ṭabas silk."[99]

Bayān wa 'l-Tabyīn (Cairo, 1332 H. [1913–4 A.D.]), I, 79, quotes a verse of Abū Nuwās mentioning ḳūhīya. The Egyptian editor who found difficulty in explaining the text, noted that ḳūhī is white cloth.

[87] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

[88] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 23.

[89] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[90] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

[91] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *op. cit.*, text, p. 95, trans., p. 259.

[92] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, III, 75.

[93] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 321, n.

[94] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, II, 243.

[95] *Ḥudūd al-‘Ālam,* p. 103.

[96] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–43, 152.

[97] *Géographie d' Aboulféda,* text, p. 449, trans., II, 189.

[98] There are two towns called Ṭabas in Kuhistan sometimes known collectively as Ṭabasain.

[99] Hamadhānī, *Maḳāmāt* (Beirut, 1924), p. 189, in the fourth century, wrote of stuff called Ḳūhī mumaṣṣar which, he said, meant Ḳūhī cloth dyed with reddish-yellow clay. See *Naḳā'id of Jarīr and al-Farazdaḳ,* ed. A. A. Bevan (Leyden, 1905–12), II, 546.

CHAPTER X

TRANSOXIANA

IN BOKHARA, THE CAPITAL OF SUGHD, THE ANCIENT SOGDIANA, AND ONE OF THE MOST EASTERLY provinces of the Caliphate (Map 7), there seems to have been a ṭirāz factory in the Abbasid period. It is tempting to think that the Muslims merely took over the previously existing scheme of taxation in kind, consisting in this case of cloth, as they did in Ṭabaristān and elsewhere. Balādhurī[1] mentioned that Transoxiana sent a tribute to the early Arabs which included silk (ḥarīr) and garments (thiyāb), and this would probably be the same tax that went to the Sasanians. Various textiles also figure in the presents which the last independent kings of Bokhara sent to the Chinese,[2] and it must be kept in mind that the province was always open to influences from that quarter, though the Sasanians in their turn exerted a strong influence on Chinese wares.

Concerning the province in general, Iṣṭakhrī said: "As regards clothing (malbūs), there are to be found cotton garments which are so esteemed as to be exported thence to all lands. They have furs (firā'), wool (ṣūf), and fur (wabar)."[3] Ibn Ḥawḳal[4] repeated that "they have wool, ḳazz silk, and fine materials (ṭarā'if) of muslin (kirbās), and cloth (bazz)." Yāḳūt differed but little: "As regards clothing, there are unequaled cotton garments which are exported to all regions. They have ḳazz silk, wool, and fur in abundance, as well as ibrīsm silk of Khudjand, there being no better ibrīsm to be found."[5] He also mentioned furs of various kinds.

It was not, however, until Abū Muslim sent Ziyād ibn Ṣāliḥ to quell the revolt against the Abbasides that Transoxiana came thoroughly under Muslim control. Though they may have established the ṭirāz there previously, the most likely date for its institution is the period of Ma'mūn's residence at Merv; the earliest, and so far as I know, the only account of the factory is to be found in Narshakhī's *Ta'rīkh-i-Bukhārā*, written in 332 H. (943–44 A.D.) for his Samanid patron, the author then being forty-six years of age:

> An account of the ṭirāz factory (bait al-ṭirāz) which was in Bokhara and which is still standing.
>
> Now, in Bokhara, there was a factory (kārgāh) between the citadel and the Shahristān (which Barthold says was the original town),[6] near the Friday mosque, where they used to weave carpets (bisāṭ), tapestry (shādurvān), Yazdī (cloth), cushions (bālish), prayer carpets (muṣallā), striped Funduḳī (either "of a nut color" or "inn, hotel") cloaks (burd). They used to weave for the caliph, for the kharādj tax of Bokhara was spent on large carpets (shādurvān). Every year an overseer

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[1] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 408, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), p. 167.

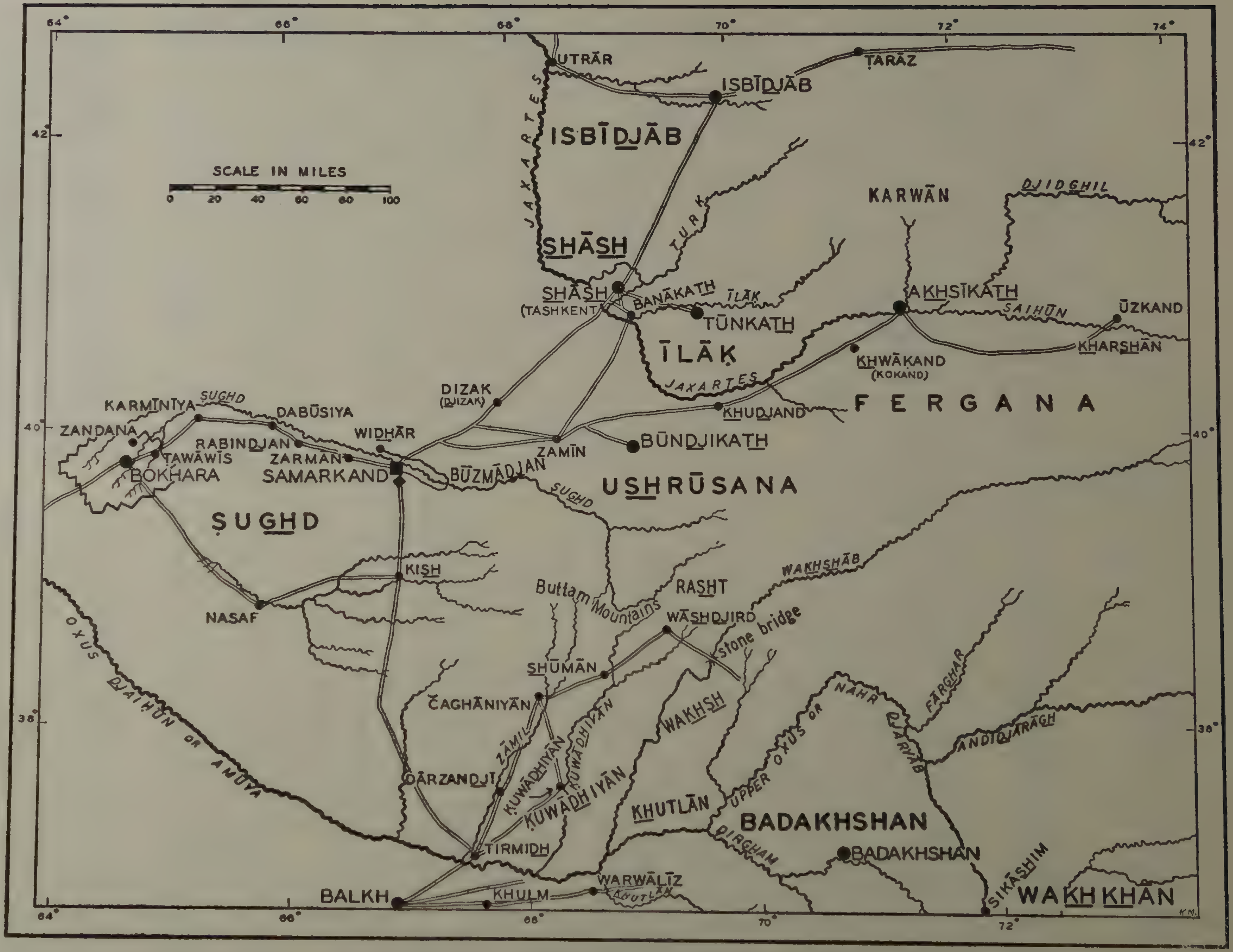
[2] See Appendix III.

[3] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum . . . .*, ed. M. J. Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=B.G.A.) (Leyden, 1870), I, 288.

[4] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna . . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1873), II, 336.

[5] Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), IV, 401.

[6] W. Barthold, *Turkistán at the Time of the Mongolian Invasion*, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1927), n.s. V, 36.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SCALE IN MILES
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100
UTRĀR
ṬARĀZ
ISBĪDJĀB
ISBĪDJĀB
JAXARTES
TURK
KARWĀN
DJIDGHIL
SHĀSH
SHĀSH
(TASHKENT)
BANĀKATH
ĪLĀK
TŪNKATH
ĪLĀĶ
AKHSĪKATH
SAIHŪN
ŪZKAND
KHARSHĀN
KHWĀKAND
(KOKAND)
JAXARTES
FERGANA
DIZAK
(DJIZAK)
KHUDJAND
BŪNDJIKATH
ZAMĪN
KARMĪNIYA
SUGHD
DABŪSIYA
ZANDANA
RABINDJAN
TAWĀWĪS
ZARMĀN
WIDHĀR
BOKHARA
SAMARKAND
BŪZMĀDJAN
SUGHD
USHRŪSANA
ṢUGHD
KISH
NASAF
Buttam Mountains
RASHT
WAKHSHĀB
WĀSHDJIRD
stone bridge
SHŪMĀN
ČAGHĀNIYĀN
OXUS DJAIḤŪN OR AMUYA
ZĀMIL
KUWĀDHIYĀN
KUWĀDHIYĀN
KUWĀDHIYĀN
WAKHSH
FĀRGHAR
NAHR DJARYĀB
UPPER OXUS OR
ANDIDJĀRĀGH
ḲĀRZANDJ
KHUTLĀN
BADAKHSHAN
TIRMIDH
DIRGHAM
BADAKHSHAN
SIKĀSHIM
WARWĀLĪZ
KHUTLĀN
BALKH
KHULM
WAKHKHAN
K.N.

Map 7—Transoxiana

> (ʿāmil) used to come from Baghdad specially, and he used to take the equivalent of the tax of Bokhara in this cloth (djāma).
>
> Nowadays it so happens that this factory has become dismantled and the men who used to exercise that craft have been scattered. In Bokhara there used to be master craftsmen specially noted for this craft. Merchants used to come from the provinces and, just as people take away zandanīdjī, they used to take those garments to Syria, Egypt, and the cities of Byzantium (Rūm). They did not weave them in any other city in Khurasan. The surprising thing is that some of the men who practiced this craft went to Khurasan and made the tools necessary for this manufacture and wove those garments, but they did not attain the former luster or splendor (āb ū rawnaḳ). There was no monarch, emir, or commander who did not possess such robes. There were red, white, and green varieties, but today zandanīdjī is better known than these garments in all the provinces.[7]

It is interesting to note how this indirect control of the factory differs from the system obtaining in Egypt, and perhaps in other factories in Persia. Some of the stuffs may have been made on commission, as in Egypt. Narshakhī gave no indication as to how and why the ṭirāz industry declined. It may have disappeared with the fall of the Ṭāhirids in 259 H. (873 A.D.), but it probably continued under Saffarid rule, and Minorsky suggested that this account of its ruined state may be the addition of the Persian translator of the Samanid period. The indirect control suggests Sasanid methods.

The Samanid dynasty seems to have favored these zandanīdjī cloths of which Narshakhī said, speaking of Zandana, one of the villages of Bokhara:

> That which comes from it is called zandanīdjī, which is to say muslin (kirbās) from the village of Zandana, which is both good and plentiful, but many of the villages of Bokhara weave better cloth, and they call it zandanīdjī because it first made its appearance in that town. This cloth is exported to all the provinces such as Iraq, Fars, Kerman, and Hindustan. All the nobles and kings make robes (djāma) of it and buy its brocade at a high price.[8]

The popularity of this garment may have been partly due to the fact that it was a uniform for the Samanid soldiers of the household. Niẓām al-Mulk[9] remarked (485 H. [1092–93 A.D.]) that the Samanids used to clothe the newly bought slave in zandanīdjī. The second year he got a horse with a snaffle, headstall, and bridle. In the third year he received a special belt (ḳarāčūr). In the fifth year he got a better saddle and bridle ornamented with stars (bi-kawkab), a tunic of silk stuff of various colors (ḳabā-yi-dārāʾī[10]), and a mace (dabbūs), which he hung from a ring at his saddle bow; in the sixth year, a parade dress (djāma-ʿunvān); and in the seventh he became a Withāḳ-bāshī, when he was given a Gandja robe (ḳabā) and a black felt hat embroidered with silver (kulāh-i-namad-i-siyāh-i-sīm-kashīda).

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[7] Narshakhī, *Taʾrīkh-i-Bukhārā, Description topographique et historique de Boukhara,* ed. C. Schefer, Publications de l' école des langues orientales vivantes (=P.E.L.O.V.) (Paris, 1892), III, XIII, 18. I have since found a translation of this passage by Minorsky in the *Bull. School of Oriental and African Studies* (London, 1938), IV, III, 627.

[8] Narshakhī, *op. cit.,* p. 35.

[9] C. Schefer, *Siasset Namèh, Traité de gouvernement* . . . . par le Vizir Nizam oul-Moulk (P.E.L.O.V.) (Paris, 1891–93), text, p. 95, trans, pp. 139–40.

[10] See J. A. Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum Etymologicum* (Bonn, 1855–67): "Genus panni serici diversi coloris, genus panni serici quod undulatum dicitur."

This cloth was also exported to Central Asia, for Djuwainī[11] described the cloth with which the merchants tried to defraud Genghiz Khan as being "gold-embroidered garments (thiyāb mudhahhab), muslin (kirbās), and zandapīčī." This variant of the name is also given by Vullers who described it as a wide robe of white cotton, very coarsely woven and quilted. Bokhara prospered greatly under the Samanids, but in the Mongol invasions it was almost entirely destroyed.

Other information is supplied by the geographers. Iṣṭakhrī[12] reported that "from Bokhara and its environs are brought cotton garments which are taken to all countries, as also carpets (busuṭ), prayer carpets (muṣallayāt), and choice woolen garments." Ibn Ḥawḳal[13] said: "Most of their dress consists of cloaks (ḳabā') and hats (ḳalansuwa) like the dress of Transoxiana." He noted the cloth markets there, and added: "There are brought from Bokhara and its environs garments known as Bukhārī which are taken to Iraq, and other countries; such also is the case with carpets (busuṭ), and garments of wool (ṣūf)." The *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[14] merely mentions woolen goods and saltpeter, but Maḳdisī[15] was better informed: "There are brought from Bokhara soft garments, prayer carpets (muṣallayāt), carpets (busuṭ), and cloth of Funduḳī carpeting (farsh) . . . . Ṭabarī cloth. Girths (ḥazm al-khail) are woven in the prisons (maḥābis), and Ashmūnī garments (of the type made in Ashmūnain in Egypt ?)."

Yāḳūt[16] was also acquainted with the Zandana cloth, for he said: "There are named after it the Zandandjī garments with the addition of the letter djīm. They are well known." The earlier western writer Idrīsī, however, did not know them. Another village which manufactured these stuffs was Iskadjkat, the people of which were merchants, and from which muslin (kirbās) came, according to Narshakhī[17] who further remarked: "In olden times there used to be a bazaar in the season of Tīrmāh for secondhand cloth, such as curtains (parda) and hangings (sutūr), or cloth with some defect, and all kinds of secondhand goods at Bokhara, where merchants came from Fergana, Djādj, and other places, and used to buy it."

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[11] *Ta'rīkh-i-Jahān-gushā of Juwaynī*, Persian text, ed. Mīrzā Muḥammad (London, 1913–37), Gibb Mem. Ser., XVI, I, 59. Cf. E. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (Oxford, 1932), for a similar passage. Khāḳānī (*Dīwān,* Teheran, 1316–17 H. [1899–1900 A.D.], p. 144), writing between 500 H. (1106 A.D.) and 595 H. (1200 A.D.), mentioned zandapīčī (ref. from M. Minovi). See also V. Minorsky, "Some Early Documents in Persian," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, II (1943), 94 where a ḳabā of zandanidjī at Bāmiyān is mentioned in 607 H. (1211 A.D.).

[12] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

[13] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 363.

[14] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 112.

[15] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 324.

[16] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 952.

[17] Narshakhī, *op. cit.*, p. 31 ff.

The largest of the villages in the Bokhara area was Ṭawāwīs, of which Iṣṭakhrī[18] said: "There are brought from it cotton garments which are taken to all places." Ibn Ḥawḳal[19] added: "It has a market and a great time of reunion when people from all quarters of Khurasan go to it at a certain time of the year, and from it are brought garments of cotton, which on account of their abundance are taken to Iraq." Idrīsī[20] repeated this account, but Abu'l-Fidā'[21] stated that the city was ruined in his time, probably by the Mongol invaders.

Proceeding along the Ṣughd river to Samarkand we come to Karmīnīya to which Maḳdisī[22] ascribed kerchiefs (mandīl). Then comes Dabūsiya, of which he[23] said: "From Dabūsiya and Widhār come Widhārī garments of one color (muṣmat), and I have heard a sultan in Baghdad call them the brocade of Khurasan." Of Rabindjan he said: "From Rabindjan come izārs of red felt (lubūd) for winter, prayer carpets (muṣallayāt), and rope (marīr) of hemp (ḳunnab)."[24]

The great city of Samarkand has numerous notices devoted to it from which we can build a fairly complete history until the Mongol invasion, and even after that. Ibn al-Faḳīh[25] mentioned its Samarḳandī garments, and Iṣṭakhrī[26] reported that "Samarkand is a meeting place of merchants and the emporium of Transoxiana. Most of the supplies of Transoxiana come to Samarkand and are then distributed to the provinces." Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi,[27] the Spanish author, also mentioned the Samarḳandī garments, and Benjamin of Tudela[28] talked of Jews in Samarkand.

Maḳdisī gave the following list:

> There are brought from Samarkand silver-colored garments (thiyāb sīmkūn), Samarḳandī (stuff), ... and tents (akhbiya) . . . . From Samarkand too come brocade, which is carried to the Turks, and red garments called mumardjal, and Sīnīzī, as well as much ḳazz silk and garments of that material.[29]

The *Laṭā'if al-Maʿārif*[30] said: "Among the special products of Samarkand are the Widhārī garments." These are obviously derived from the village of Widhār, and Idrīsī gave a long account of them, so that they were known in the West, by repute, at least:

> They make there (in Widhār) stuffs called Widhārī, woven of cotton on cotton, and made with

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[18] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

[19] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 362.

[20] Idrīsī, *Géographie*, trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), II, 195. Ibn al-Athīr, *Chronicon*, ed. C. J. Tornberg (Leyden, 1851–76), XII, 199, mentions a Bukhārī shirt (ḳamīṣ) about the year 611 H. (1214 A.D.).

[21] *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, trans. by M. Reinaud (Paris, 1845–83), II, 217.

[22] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 324.

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] *Ibid.*

[25] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 255.

[26] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

[27] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *al-ʿIḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 268.

[28] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), trans. p. 59.

[29] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 325. Mardjil is a kind of striped Yemen stuff, and this may be what is intended by the term mumardjal here. See Chap. XV.

[30] Thaʿālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Maʿārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 126. Cf. Thaʿālibī's *Thimār al-Ḳulūb*, (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 432, which has the reading Wizārīya.

an astonishing art; they are employed raw and without being cut. There is not a prince, minister, or cadi in the whole of Khurasan who does not wear one in winter over his clothes. The beauty of these stuffs is evident and their splendor is famous. They are of a color approaching yellow saffron, soft and light to the touch, but nevertheless very thick, excellent in their wearing qualities, and durable. The price of a robe varies from three to twenty dinars according to the quality. In short, it is impossible to find anything better, whether as regards beauty, whether as regards solidity.[31]

Yāḳūt[32] said that the town in which Widhārī garments were made was six miles from Samarkand.

Vámbéry[33] noted that Samarkand silk and cotton weavers were distributed by Ghenghiz Khan among his relations as useful servants, or else taken to Khurasan. The conquest completely changed local conditions and led to a great infiltration of Chinese craftsmen. This has been remarked by a certain Ch'ang Ch'un[34] who said that they are to be found everywhere at Samarkand. They seem to have been mainly agriculturists. The people were quite unable to manage their fields and orchards for themselves and were obliged to call in Chinese, Kitai, and Tanguts. He recorded also a drop in population after the defeat of the Khwārizmshāh, from one hundred thousand households (say over a half million people) to a quarter of that number in Samarkand. This was doubtless due to the Mongol massacres and deportations which denuded the country of labor. Some of these workmen may have been cloth workers, for he[35] spoke of a place Chieu-chieu-chau (Rashīd al-Dīn's Kem-kemdjiyuta) in the southeast Kirkhiz country where Chinese workmen were settled and wove "fine silks, gauze, brocade, and damask."

Of Dizak (Djizak) in the same group, Maḳdisī[36] said: "From Dizak excellent felts and cloaks (ḳabā') of felt are brought."

In the neighborhood of Balkh (properly in Khurasan) there was another group of cloth-manufacturing cities, briefly noted by the geographers.

Čagāniyān, according to the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*[37] produces "woolen cloths, palas rugs, and much saffron."

Tirmidh[38] "produces green matting (būriyā) and fans (bādh-bizan)."

Dārzandjī[39] "produces puttees (pāy-tāba), different sorts of tapestry-woven carpets (gilīmīna), and woolen carpets (bisāṭ-i-pashmīn)." Maḳdisī[40] found that most of its inhabitants were workers in wool (ṣuwwāf), manufacturing robes (aksiya).

Ḳuwādhiyān. Iṣṭakhrī[41] said: "From al-Ḳuwādhiyān comes madder (fuwwa)."

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[31] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, II, 201. I read Widhār here for Jaubert's Wabdhār. The text here is suspect.

[32] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 944.

[33] A. Vámbéry, *History of Bukhara* (London, 1873), p. 132.

[34] Li Chih Ch'ang, *Travels of an Alchemist*, trans. by A. Waley (London, 1931), p. 93.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 124.

[36] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

[37] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam*, p. 114.

[38] *Ibid.*

[39] *Ibid.*

[40] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 283.

[41] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

Idrīsī[42] added: "From Ḳuwādhiyān they bring to Wāshdjird much cotton and madder (?) with which they make the red color which is largely exported to India. The sultan puts a tax on these various productions."

Shūmān and Wāshdjird were also famous for their saffron, according to Idrīsī.[43]

Khutlān was noted by Mustawfī[44] as producing cotton.

In the north of Transoxiana, there was yet another group, the largest city of which was Shāsh (Tashkent). Maḳdisī[45] found that "tents (akhbiya), saddles of shagreen (kīmukht) of value, izārs . . . . prayer carpets (muṣallayāt), capes ornamented at the neck (banīḳāt[46]) . . . . and cotton which is taken to the Turks."

From Banākath, said Maḳdisī,[47] come garments of Turkestan. He[48] again noted that Isbīdjāb has a muslin market (Sūḳ al-Karābīs), and from there and from Fergana, Turkish slaves and white garments were exported. This cloth trade seems to have been established early, for Abu 'l-Ḳāsim[49] of Baghdad talked with familiarity of Kharshānī carpets (ṭinfisa) from the district watered by the Kharshān tributary of the Saiḥūn.

From Sikāshim, says the *Ḥūdūd al-ʿĀlam,*[50] "come covers for saddle cloths (rūy-i-namad-zīn).[51]

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[42] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 482. The word madder has been inserted by analogy with other texts to fill the lacuna in the translation.

[43] *Ibid.*

[44] Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb*, trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 153.

[45] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

[46] See *Indices, Glossarium et Addenda* . . . ., ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1879), IV. R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), and *idem, Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), contain further references to various sources including Maḳḳarī.

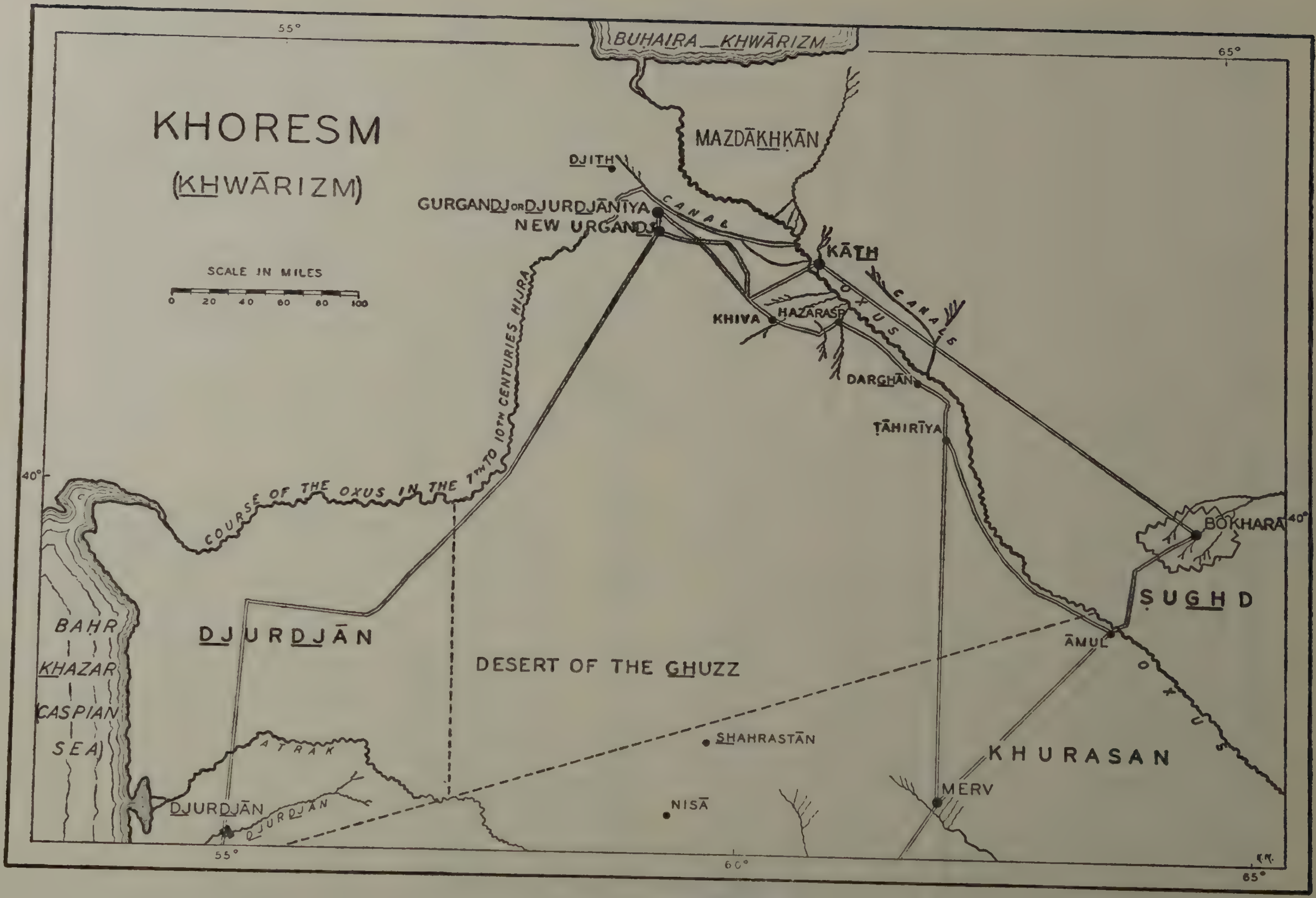
[47] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 325.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 272 and 325.

[49] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 36. For Kharshān see the index to G. Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1930).

[50] *Ḥudūd al-Ālam*, p. 121. See the map, pp. 338–39. Cf. Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), III, III, 1689; also 'Umarī, "Masālik al-Abṣār, Notice de l'ouvrage . . . . Mesalek alabsar fi memalek alamsar," *Acad. des inscriptions et belles-lettres, notices et extraits* (1836), III, I, 239.

[51] Additional note.—Ghenghiz Khan settled Arab and Chinese craftsmen at Karakorum (Bar Hebraeus, *op. cit.*, I, 298).


KHORESM
(KHWĀRIZM)
SCALE IN MILES
0 20 40 60 80 100
55°
65°
40°
60°
BUHAIRA KHWĀRIZM
MAZDĀKHKĀN
DJITH
GURGANDJ OR DJURDJĀNIYA
NEW URGANDJ
CANAL
KĀTH
CANALS
OXUS
KHIVA
HAZARASP
DARGHĀN
ṬĀHIRĪYA
COURSE OF THE OXUS IN THE 7TH TO 10TH CENTURIES HIJRA
BOKHARA
ṢUGHD
ĀMUL
DJURDJĀN
DESERT OF THE GHUZZ
BAHR KHAZAR
CASPIAN SEA
ATRAK
SHAHRASTĀN
NISĀ
KHURASAN
MERV
DJURDJĀN
DJURDJĀN

Map 8—Khoresm (Khwārizm)

CHAPTER XI

KHORESM (KHWĀRIZM)

A GENERAL DESCRIPTION[1] OF THE PRODUCTS OF THE COUNTRY OF KHORESM IS GIVEN IN Maḳdisī:

> From Khoresm come sable skins (sammūr), squirrel fur (sindjāb), weasel skins (ḳāḳūn), desert fox furs (fanak), weasel furs (dalah), fox furs (tha'lab), beaver skins (khazbūst), and goat skin (buzbūst) .... and ḳalansuwa caps and shagreen (kīmukht) .... all the above from Bulghār. From Khoresm are brought striped cloaks (burūd), carpets (fursh), cloth for blankets (thiyāb al-luḥuf), brocade for presents (dībādj bīshkash), veils of cloth with a warp of silk and a woof of some other material (maḳāni' mulḥam) .... and garments of Arandj (colored stuff).[2]

Idrīsī[3] said: "From this country cotton and linen stuffs and various articles of merchandise for export are derived." He, too, mentioned its furs. According to Yāḳūt: "It has many trees. Most of all there are the mulberry (tūt) and the willow (khilāf), because of their need for them in their buildings and for feeding the silkworm (dūd al-ibrīsm)."[4]

The Arab geographers generally called the capital, Kāth, after the name of the province, and thereby some confusion arises. Iṣṭakhrī and Ibn Ḥawḳal referred to the town: "From it comes a large supply of garments of cotton and wool which are taken to all regions,"[5] and "their dress consists of tunics (ḳurṭaḳ)."[6] Ibn Ḥawḳal[7] called them "twisted ḳalansuwa caps" and commended their beauty.

According to the *Ḥudūd:* "Kāth is a resort of merchants. . . . It produces covers for cushions (rūy-i-mikhadda), quilted garments (ḳazāgand), cotton stuffs (karbās), felt."[8]

The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,*[9] however, is probably referring to Urgandj in the passage which will be quoted below, because it was toward the end of the fourth (tenth) century that Kāth was supplanted by Urgandj as the capital city of Khoresm: "The muslins (kirbās) called Arandj are among its specialties. They say that the Amīrī kind of them does not fall short of the ḥaffī of Nishapur, the munaiyar of Rayy, the poppy-colored kind (khāshkhāshī) of Djurdjān, and the Dabīḳī of Egypt." It notes that the merchandise and the special products of Khoresm are similar to those of Turkish lands.

There was an emir of Gurgandj who succeeded in conquering south Khoresm in the year

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[1] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 325.

[2] See *Indices, Glossarium et Addenda . . . .,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1879), IV; also see Djawālīḳī, *Kitāb al-Mu'arrab,* ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig, 1867), p. 156 where Arandadj is a black skin.

[3] Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), II, 91.

[4] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 482.

[5] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum . . . .,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 304.

[6] See R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845).

[7] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna . . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemica,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1873), II, 354.

[8] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 121.

[9] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 129.

385 H. (995 A.D.) and who arrogated the title of Khwārizmshāh to himself. It seems likely that these Amīrī garments mean ṭirāz-inscribed garments containing the title "amīr," and the factory would be in Urgandj because it was in that same year that the emir destroyed Kāth. Previously this northern part of the province with its capital Urgandj had been separate from the kingdom of the Khwārizmshāhs.

South of Kāth was Hazārasp, and Yāḳūt[10] wrote that "in it are many markets and cloth merchants (bazzāzūn)."

[10] Yāḳūt, op. cit., IV, 971.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE

R.N. Frye, *the History of Bukhārā*, (Cambridge, Mars, 1954), 19-20, 119 gives a slightly different rendering of the Narshakhī text-suggesting that it means that the tax on Bokhārā could be spent on one door-hanging.

CHAPTER XII

KERMAN AND SEISTAN

ALTHOUGH NOT THE CAPITAL OF THE PROVINCE, BAM IN KERMAN WAS THE CHIEF MANUFACTURING center, and at one time possessed a ṭirāz factory. Ibn Khaldūn[1] stated that five hundred pieces of Yemen stuff were sent with the tribute from the province of Kerman (Map 9).

Iṣṭakhrī was very brief indeed: "From Bam garments of cotton, which are taken to all districts, are exported."[2] Ibn Ḥawḳal, however, was far more informative:

> Bam is larger than Djīruft, and splendid robes of great value and durability are made there from the cotton, and taken to many quarters of the earth. Among its choice articles which are made there are the ṭailasāns which are made with hollows (ṭayālisa muḳawwara, i.e., possibly with some kind of raised pile or embroidery which gave the appearances of hollows?), woven into festoons (rafraf), and a single one of which, when of fine sharb linen fetches thirty dinars, more or less when sold in Iraq, Miṣr, and Khurasan. They have also famous turbans ('imāma) which are much sought after by the people of Iraq, Miṣr, and Khurasan. Their garments have a lastingness like the cloths of Aden and Sana, the least of which lasts from five to twenty years. Their robes are the kind that kings store and acquire. They had a ṭirāz factory of the sultan, but it perished when he did.[3]

Presumably, the Buwaihid Sultan Rukn al-Dawla is intended here, or else his father, but owing to the disturbed state of the country at that time it is impossible to be certain. The origin of the ṭirāz factory was probably before the time of Ma'mūn, if we assume that the Yemen stuffs were made in a ṭirāz factory.

A list of products is given in the *Ḥudūd*,[4] which notes that "from it come cotton stuffs ('imāma), Bam turbans (or kerchiefs, dastār-i-bamī)." Maḳdisī[5] found that the Bammī manufactures were not confined to Bam alone: "In Awārik and Mihrakird are made many garments after the Bammī manufacture which are exported as they are. Bam has many skilled and dexterous craftsmen and famous markets, the cloth of which is sought everywhere . . . . most of them are weavers. . . . Most of the garments which are manufactured are made in Djabal Kūd (a parasang away from it). . . . From Bam are brought turbans and kerchiefs (mandīl), ṭailasāns, and precious garments preferred above all the Merv weaves."

Even Idrīsī in the West had heard of Bam manufactures:

> Its inhabitants are engaged in trade and industry. They make here a quantity of beautiful cotton stuffs which are the object of considerable export, and mantles of goat hair which equal in

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[1] Ibn Khaldūn, *Les Prolégomènes d'Ibn Khaldoun,* trans. by M. de Slane (Paris, 1863–68), I, 364.

[2] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum* . . . ., ed M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1870), I, 167.

[3] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna* . . . . *Descriptio ditionis moslemicae,* ed M. J. de Goeje (*B.G.A.*), II, 223. The rendering of ṭayālisa muḳawwara is uncertain. The new edition of Ibn Ḥawḳal may resolve this difficulty.

[4] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 125.

[5] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 465, 466, 470.

fineness the most beautiful it is possible to see. There are some, the price of which equals thirty dinars. Finally, they make, too, very fine stuffs for turbans. All these stuffs are of fine workmanship and solidity so that they do not wear out and only perish at the end of a very long lapse of time. Kings are proud to wear them, and consider them precious and keep them with care in their treasuries.[6]

Yāḳūt[7] quoted earlier sources such as the above.

Apart from one or two large towns, Kerman was never an industrial province, because it was largely desert, but it was celebrated for its commerce, lying straddled as it does across the land route to India. In the eastern quarter of the province, according to Maḳdisī[8] "there is made in Sīrdjān a great deal of this (Bammī) cloth." The Īl-Khānid author Mustawfī[9] talked of its cotton production. From Zarand, said Iṣṭakhri,[10] "famous linings (biṭāna) are brought which are taken to Fars and Iraq."

Kerman became the capital of the province in the fourth (tenth) century under the Buwaihids, and it is likely that the governor would have had a ṭirāz factory there. The only source for the manufactures there which I have been able to discover is Marco Polo:

> The ladies of that country and their daughters also produce exquisite needlework in the embroidery of silk stuffs in different colors, with figures of beasts and birds, trees, and flowers, and a variety of other patterns. They work hangings for the use of noblemen so deftly that they are a marvel to see, as well as cushions, pillows, quilts, and all sorts of things.[11]

Rather similar to this is the following passage from the early nineteenth-century traveler Buckingham:

> Printed cloths and handkerchiefs are manufactured also in great abundance, and carpets are wrought which are thought to be equal to any produced in the whole empire. These are chiefly the work of females of distinction; since to spin, to sew, and to embroider are the chief accomplishments of their education. These carpets are mostly made by the needle, with colored worsteds on a woven substance, in the way young ladies in England of the middle ranks work mats for tea urns. These, from their size and quality, sometimes cost fifty tumans, equal to as many pounds sterling each, though there are others at all prices below this. Others again of an inferior quality are altogether woven in colors and sold at a cheaper rate, these being the work of men. There are no large manufactories of either, however, as both are wrought in private dwellings and, when finished, brought into the bazaar for sale.[12]

Of textile manufactures at Djīruft we have no information, but Iṣṭakhrī, Idrīsī, and

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[6] Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 423.

[7] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), I, 737.

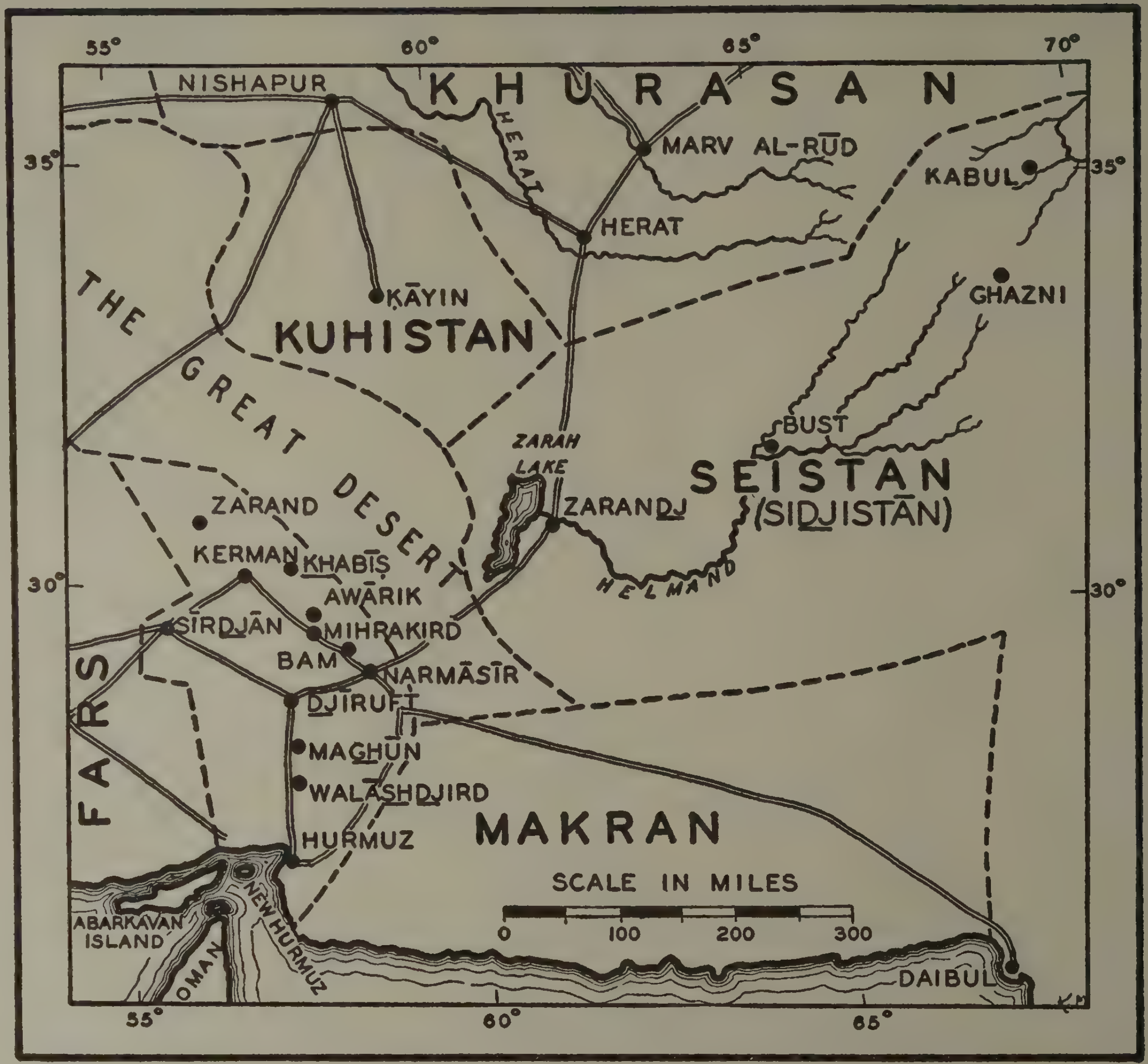
[8] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 470.

[9] Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. Le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 140.

[10] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.* p. 167. Abu 'l-Fidā' (*Géographie d' Aboulféda,* texte arabe . . . . ed. M. Reinaud et M. de Slane [Paris, 1840], p. 337; trans. M. Reinaud [Paris, 1847–83], II, 103), quoted Ibn Ḥawḳal to the same effect.

[11] H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian* (London, 1871), I, 92.

[12] J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Assyria, Media, and Persia* (London, 1829), I, 193–94.


55°
60°
65°
70°
35°
30°
NISHAPUR
KHURASAN
HERAT
MARV AL-RŪD
HERAT
KABUL
KĀYIN
GHAZNI
THE GREAT DESERT
KUHISTAN
ZARAH LAKE
BUST
SEISTAN
(SIDJISTĀN)
ZARANDJ
ZARAND
HELMAND
KERMAN
KHABĪṢ
AWĀRIK
SIRDJĀN
MIHRAKIRD
BAM
NARMĀSĪR
DJIRUFT
FARS
MAGHŪN
WALASHDJIRD
HURMUZ
MAKRAN
SCALE IN MILES
0
100
200
300
ABARKAVAN ISLAND
NEW HURMUZ
OMAN
DAIBUL
K.M.

Map 9—Kerman and Seistan

Abu 'l-Fidā'[13] all wrote that it was the emporium of Khurasan and Seistan. The only exports from Kerman mentioned by Djāḥiẓ[14] are indigo and cumin, the former of which seems always to have been an important article of merchandise. Ibn Ḥawḳal[15] said: "From the territories of Maghūn and Walashdjird to the district of Hurmuz, indigo and cumin are planted and taken everywhere." Maḳdisī[16] too, said: "From the districts of Djīruft, much indigo (nīl) is brought." Idrīsī[17] also remarked on the indigo of Hurmuz.

SEISTAN

The semidesert country of Seistan (Sīstān, or Sidjistān) was never a cloth manufacturing center, nor even an important administrative center, except for a brief period under the Ṣaffārid dynasty. It did, however, send three hundred pieces of stuff marked with circles (muʿaiyan) along with the tribute to Ma'mūn. Abū Dulaf[18] has left us one short sentence to show that the Ṣaffārid dynasty had royal factories there, presumably at the capital Zarandj, for he does not mention any particular place. Abū Dulaf visited the ruler Khalaf ibn Ahmed, and noted: "He has in the country a ṭirāz factory in which garments are made. Every day he confers a robe of honor on one of his visitors, five thousand dirhams beings spent on it in the ṭirāz."

General descriptions of the products of this reign are given in the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* and by Thaʿālibī. The former[19] says: "The province produces stuffs used as carpets (djāma-hā-yi-farsh) similar to those of Ṭabaristān, zīlū rugs similar to the Djahram kind." Thaʿālibī numbered among the specialties of the country "ceremonial drums" (al-ṭubūl al-mawkibīya), and the brocaded carpets (dabābīdj al-farsh).[20] Some of these must have been made in Zarandj. It is significant that the province had no characteristic fabric of its own, but showed a tendency to derive from Fars, Ṭabaristān, and almost certainly from India.

Bust was the second largest city in Seistan, and Iṣṭakhrī[21] said: "There is commerce in it with India and Sind." According to the *Ḥudūd:* "Bust is the gate of Hindustan, and the resort of merchants . . . . it produces cotton stuffs (karbās)."[22] The city was ultimately destroyed by Timur.

One march from Bust, in a direction unspecified, lay Zāliḳān, of which Iṣṭakhrī[23] said:

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[13] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 166. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 422. Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, trans., II, 103. The Seljuk histories edited by T. Houtsma might yield some chance information about ṭirāz factories in this province, but time has not permitted me to examine them.

[14] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Ḥasan H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 345.

[15] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 223.

[16] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

[17] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 424.

[18] Kurd de Schloezer, *Abu Dolaf Misaris ben Mohalhal de itinere suo asiatico* (Berlin, 1845), p. 28, an extract from Ḳazwīnī. He actually mentioned Abū Djaʿfar Muhammad b. Ahmed b. al-Laith who, said Brockelmann, is the same as Khalaf b. Ahmed taken prisoner by Mahmud of Ghazni in the year 1002–3 A.D. See the article "Miʿsar ibn Muhalhil" in *Encycl. Islam,* III, 519.—Abū Dulaf's journey has been republished from a new manuscript by Messrs. Brill of Leyden.

[19] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* p. 110.

[20] Thaʿālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Maʿārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 124, repeated by al-Nuwairī *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), I, 366.

[21] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

[22] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* p. 110.

[23] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.*, p. 248. Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 363. Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

"Most of the inhabitants are weavers." Ibn Ḥawḳal and Yāḳūt repeated this statement, and Idrīsī[24] remarked: "Most of its inhabitants are weavers and their principal commerce consists in stuffs which are sold and exported in considerable quantities."

Perhaps here the city of Kabul should be included. Ibn Ḥawḳal[25] said: "Indigo (nīl) is sold in Kabul every year, which is made in its gardens and cultivated land. . . . From Kabul beautiful garments of cotton are brought of which wrappers (sabnīya) are made, which go to China, and go forth to Khurasan and are distributed throughout Sind and its districts." This text must suffice to represent the fame of the indigo of Kabul, mentioned by many authors.

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[24] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 446.

[25] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 328. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 183.

CHAPTER XIII

THE ṬIRĀZ IN INDIA

THE RAMIFICATIONS OF THE ABBASID ṬIRĀZ SYSTEM MAY EVEN HAVE EXTENDED TO INDIA, but I have found no other reference to any such institution before the Tug͟hluḳid period. India really falls outside the scope of this work, but an appendix on Indian and Chinese influences will be found later in this survey.

The *Ta'rīḳh-i-Fīrūz S͟hāhī* of Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī[1] tells us that the Sultan Muhammad (who reigned from 720–52 H. [1320–51 A.D.]) decided, for various reasons of policy, to recognize the Abbasid caliphate. He paid allegiance to the representatives of the family who were in Egypt, in the year 744 H. (1343–44 A.D.), and in return he received a robe of honor (k͟hil'a): "He ordered that on the ṭirāz inscription of gold-embroidered robes of value, they should inscribe the name of the caliph and nothing else (dar ṭirāz-i-d͟jāmahā-yi-zarbaft-ū ḳīmatī)." A robe of honor which probably came from this Delhi ṭirāz factory is mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa;[2] it was presented by the king of India, Muhammad Shah, and was made "of blue silk embroidered with gold and spangled with jewels (k͟hil'a al-ḥarīr al-azraḳ, muzarkas͟ha bi 'l-d͟hahab wa muraṣṣa'a bi 'l-d͟jawāhir)."

Ḳalḳas͟handī described the state factories of the Tug͟hluḳid:

> Therein, of those who are master craftsmen, are the makers of swords, bows, spears, armor (zarad) and other kinds of weapons, jewelers (ṣuwwāg͟h), makers of embroideries (zarākis͟ha), and masters of other crafts. . . . The Sultan of Delhi has a ṭirāz factory (dār al-ṭirāz) in which there are four thousand manufacturers of silk (ḳazzāz), making all kinds of textiles for robes of honor (k͟hil'a), robes (kasāwā), and presents (iṭlāḳāt), besides the cloth of China, Iraq, and Alexandria which is brought there.[3]

The Tug͟hluḳid dynasty was overthrown four years before Ḳalḳas͟handī's death; the intricate court organization of the Mogul period is well known and several accounts of its manufactures are available.

The passage from Ḳalḳas͟handī is founded on a much fuller account in the earlier *Masālik al-Abṣār* of 'Umarī.[4] The latter author is describing contemporary events. Speaking of the dress of the notables of Delhi, he said:

> The linen garments which are imported from Alexandria and the land of the Russians are worn only by those whom the sultan honors with them. The others wear tunics and robes of fine cotton. They make garments with this material which resemble the robes (maḳāṭi') of Baghdad. But these latter, as also those called Naṣāfī, differ very much from those of India as regards fineness, beauty of color, and delicacy.

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[1] Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rīḳh-i-Fīrūz S͟hāhī*, ed. Saiyid Ahmed Khan (Calcutta, 1888–91), p. 493.

[2] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), I, 362.

[3] Ḳalḳas͟handī, *Ṣubḥ al-A's͟hā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), V, 83 and 84.

[4] 'Umarī, "Notice de l' ouvrage . . . . Mesalek alabsar fi memalek alamsar," *Acad. des inscriptions et belles-lettres, notices et extraits,* XIII (1838), 183. Cf. Ḳalḳas͟handī, *op. cit.,* V, 93.

Again, he said: "No Indian but the Sultan and those whom he permits to do so may have gold-embroidered saddles. The rest usually have silver embroideries."[5] He also described the costume of the Indians,[6] and wrote that "most of their Tartar (Tatarī) robes are embroidered with gold (muzarkasha bi-dhahab). Some wear garments with both sleeves having a ṭirāz border of gold embroidery (zarkash).[7] Others, for example the Mongols, place the ṭirāz inscription between the shoulders.[8]

Besides the account of the robe, Ibn Baṭūṭa had an interesting anecdote:

> In the year 743 H. (1342 A.D.) the king of China sent to the sultan of India at Delhi a present containing, among other things, five hundred pieces of kamkhā (Chinese silk), of which a hundred were of those made in the town of Thsiouen-tcheou-fou (Zaitūn), and of which another hundred were made in Hang-tcheou-fou (Khansā). There were, beside, five garments studded with jewels, and five gold-embroidered quivers (tarākish muzarkasha). In return the sultan sent five Bairamī garments, which are of cotton, each worth a hundred dinars, a hundred pieces of djuzz stuff which consists of silk, a single piece of which is dyed with five colors, a hundred pieces of stuff called Ṣalāḥī, and a hundred garments of Shīrīn-bāf, and a hundred of Shān-bāf, and five hundred of goat hair (mar'izz), of which a hundred were black, another white, another red, another green, and another blue. There were also a hundred pieces of Rūmī (Greek) linen (kattān).[9]

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[5] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 213.

[7] *Ibid.*, p. 215. Cf. Ḳalḳashandī (*op. cit.*, V, 39), who said that the sultans, khans, and maliks wore "Tatar (garments)" (reading here تتريّات for the text's نتريات), taklāwāt (?, described by Dozy as "genre de vêtement porté dans l'Inde et en Egypte par les émirs"), and Khwārizmian robes (ḳabā'), drawn in at the waist, and small turbans ('imāma) a single turban not going beyond five or six yards (dhirā') (in length); their apparel being of white material (bayāḍ) and "drap (djūkh)."

[8] See N. A. Reath and E. B. Sachs, *Persian Textiles and Their Technique* (New Haven, 1937), Pl. 51.

[9] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, IV, 1 ff. For kamkhā see Chap. VI, n. 68 and elsewhere.

For further material on Indian cloth, see Dharam Pal, "'Alā'-ud-Dīn's Price Control System," *Islamic Culture* (Haidarabad, 1944), XVIII, 1, should be seen. His material is based on Baranī.

At a later period than that covered by this inquiry, Indian textiles were evidently well known in Persia. The fifteenth-century author Niẓām al-Dīn Maḥmūd Ḳārī of Yezd in his *Dīwān-i-Albisa* (Constantinople, 1303 H.), p. 17, said that from Asia Minor (Rūm), Cathay (Khiṭā), and the land of Hindustan, come marvelous textiles. He mentioned cloths from many countries and provinces at the market (*ibid.*, p. 152): "Some have traversed the road from Egypt such as diḳḳ (brocade, for which see Chap. I, n. 17, of this study), Dabīḳī, spangled linen cloth (ḳaṣab), and Bunduḳī (described by the editor as a fine white cloth of which the Egyptians make shirts [pīrāhān]. Is this Venetian cloth?). Some had trodden the road from Hindustan, such as Shamsī (sun-cloth?), and sālū (a red cloth mixed with black, suitable for women's apparel and turbans) of Sāghar (a town in the Deccan?), and 'two-circle' cloth (? dū-çhanbarī), and royal (Sulṭānī) Bairamī (an ibrīshm-silk cloth like mithḳālī), and the two warp manufacture of the court (? dū tārah-yi-kar-i-bārgah-ī)."

In this list he mentioned also the women's headcloths (mi'djar) of Antioch, the çhikan (cloth wrought with a needle in flowers and gold, or embroidery) of Aftakūn (?) from Asia Minor (Rūm), Crimean linen (kattān-i-Ḳirimī), Cyprus and Aleppo wool, Kamkhā of Cathay, the sālū-cloth of Kandahar, and other cloths. On p. 86 is a reference to the cloth of Egypt and Hindustan.

CHAPTER XIV

SYRIAN TEXTILES

THOUGH SYRIA WAS A COUNTRY WITH SEVERAL VERY IMPORTANT MANUFACTURING CITIES (Map 6), there is a lack of documentation concerning them. The ports and inland cities of this province have always been great commercial centers; the *Ḥudūd* tells us: "Whatever is produced in the Maghrib, Egypt, Rūm (Byzantium), and Andalus, is brought there."[1] Maḳdisī[2] listed garments of cotton, mulḥam stuffs, and wrappers (fūṭa), as the articles of trade there.

The carpets (anmāṭ) of Antioch are known as early as al-Aṣma'ī,[3] who cited a verse of Zuhair of the pre-Islamic era, speaking of a stuff called Anṭākīya of a red color. At a much earlier date (260 A.D.), Shāpūr transported some of its inhabitants to Djundīshāpūr, while, in the year 42 H. (662 A.D.) Balādhurī[4] noted that Mu'āwiya transplanted some Persians to Antioch and others from Baalbek, Ḥimṣ, Basra, and Kufa.

Idrīsī stated: "In Antioch excellent garments of a single color (thiyāb muṣmata), 'Attābī, and Dastuwā'ī (of the type manufactured in Dastuwā in Djibāl), and Iṣfahānī (from Isfahan), and the like,[5] are made."[6]

The sister city of Aleppo is better documented than Antioch. Maḳdisī[7] only mentioned its garments and its cotton, but Maḳrīzī, quoting an earlier source for the Fatimid period and discussing the tents in their treasuries, said:

> There was brought out the large tent (fusṭāṭ) known as al-mudawwara al-kabīra ("the Large Round One"), with the manufacture of which, at Aleppo, Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ali ibn Ahmed, known as Ibn al-Aysar ("the left-handed") had been entrusted some time after the year 440 H. (1048 A.D.). Thirty thousand dinars had been spent upon its cloth (khirḳa), decoration (naḳsh, probably such as embroidery), fabrication, and appurtenances.[8]

This might imply that there was a Fatimid ṭirāz factory in Aleppo, though Ibn al-Aysar may have been a private individual, not a state employee.

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[1] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s. XI, 148.

[2] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 180.

[3] al-Tabrīzī, "A Commentary on Ten Ancient Arabic Poems," ed. C. J. Lyall, *Bibliotheca Indica* (Calcutta, 1891–94), p. 55. Al-Aṣma'ī lived from 112 H. (740 A.D.) to 213 H. (828 A.D.) and is a reliable philologist. See "al-Aṣma'ī," *Encyl. Islam,* I.

[4] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 148, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 228.

[5] J. Gildemeister, *Idrīsī, Palaestina et Syria* (Bonn, 1885), p. 23. For "Dastuwā'ī," perhaps the reading "Tustarī" would be better. See Chap. VIII, n. 36.

[6] There is an account of Antioch from Ibn al-Shiḥna in *Denkschr. d. Wiener Akad. d. Wissensch.,* 1852, Abt. 2, 21, but it gives no information about textiles. A. v. Kremer, "Beiträge zur Geographie des Nördlichen Syriens (nach Ibn Schihne's: Dorr-el-Montacheb fī Tārīch Haleb)," *Denkschr. d. k. Akad. d. Wissensch. Phil.-Hist. Classe,* III (Wien, 1852), Abt. II, 21.

[7] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 181.

[8] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]), I, 419, line 30.

Yāḳūt[9] has preserved part of the journey of Ibn Buṭlān, who traveled through this part of the world about the same date. This traveler remarked: "One of the marvels of Aleppo is that, in the cloth market (Ḳaiṣarīya-al-Bazz), there are twenty shops owned by agents in which, each day, they sell goods to the value of twenty thousand dinars. That has continued for twenty years and up to this very day."

In the year 515 H. (1116–17 A.D.), Maḳrīzī[10] said that the new vizier, Ma'mūn of Egypt, remitted, among other taxes, "three garments of Aleppo."

A list of taxes on the city is given by Ibn al-Shiḥna for the year 609 H. (1212–13 A.D.), which includes the following among many other items of all kinds: the tax on dyeing factories, 80,000 dirhams; the tax on indigo (reading doubtful) 20,000 dirhams; the tax on silk, 80,000 dirhams.

He added:

> One of the specialties of the town is also the traffic in imported merchandise, silk, linen, Yazdī (cloth), Persian stuffs, furs, (martens, washḳ, fanak, squirrel, fox, etc.), Indian merchandise, Circassian, Turkish, and Byzantine articles of luxury. Sales of a single day at Aleppo are often greater than those of a month in other cities. . . . Ten loads of silk, for instance, brought to Aleppo, are sold that very day for ready money, whereas ten loads taken to Cairo, though the largest of cities, are not sold there till the end of the month.[11]

He mentioned a khan of the goat hair sellers inside the walls.[11a] Bidlīsī[12] said: "Aleppo is so much a trading city that it is called Kūčūk Hind ('Little India')."[13]

To the southwest of Aleppo was A'zāz of which one manuscript of Abu 'l-Fidā' mentions: "In particular, cotton is cultivated there, which is then laden in ships and taken to Ceuta whence it is distributed throughout the west."[14]

Concerning al-Bāb, between Aleppo and Manbidj, Yāḳūt said: "It possesses markets in which muslin (kirbās) is made that is taken to Egypt (Miṣr) and Damascus and called after it."[15] Of the town of Ḥaffa, he said: "It is said that the Ḥaffī garments are named after it, but all I know is that ḥaff is an instrument used by weavers with which these garments are made, but it is not used in all garments."[16] This explanation of the name is probably correct, and it seems unlikely that these garments derived their name from this obscure village.

According to Balādhurī,[17] Hishām founded Ruṣāfa in Syria (105 H. [723–24 A.D.]),

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[9] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 307–8.

[10] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique et historique de l' Egypte,* trans. by U. Bouriant and P. Casanova (Paris, 1900–20), pp. 239–40.

[11] *Les Perles choisies d' Ibn ach-Chihna,* trans. by J. Sauvaget, (Beyrouth, 1933), pp. 163 and 199.

[11a] *Ibid.*

[12] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *Scheref Nameh ou Fastes de la nation Kourde,* trans. by F. Charmoy (St. Petersburg, 1868–75), I, 266.

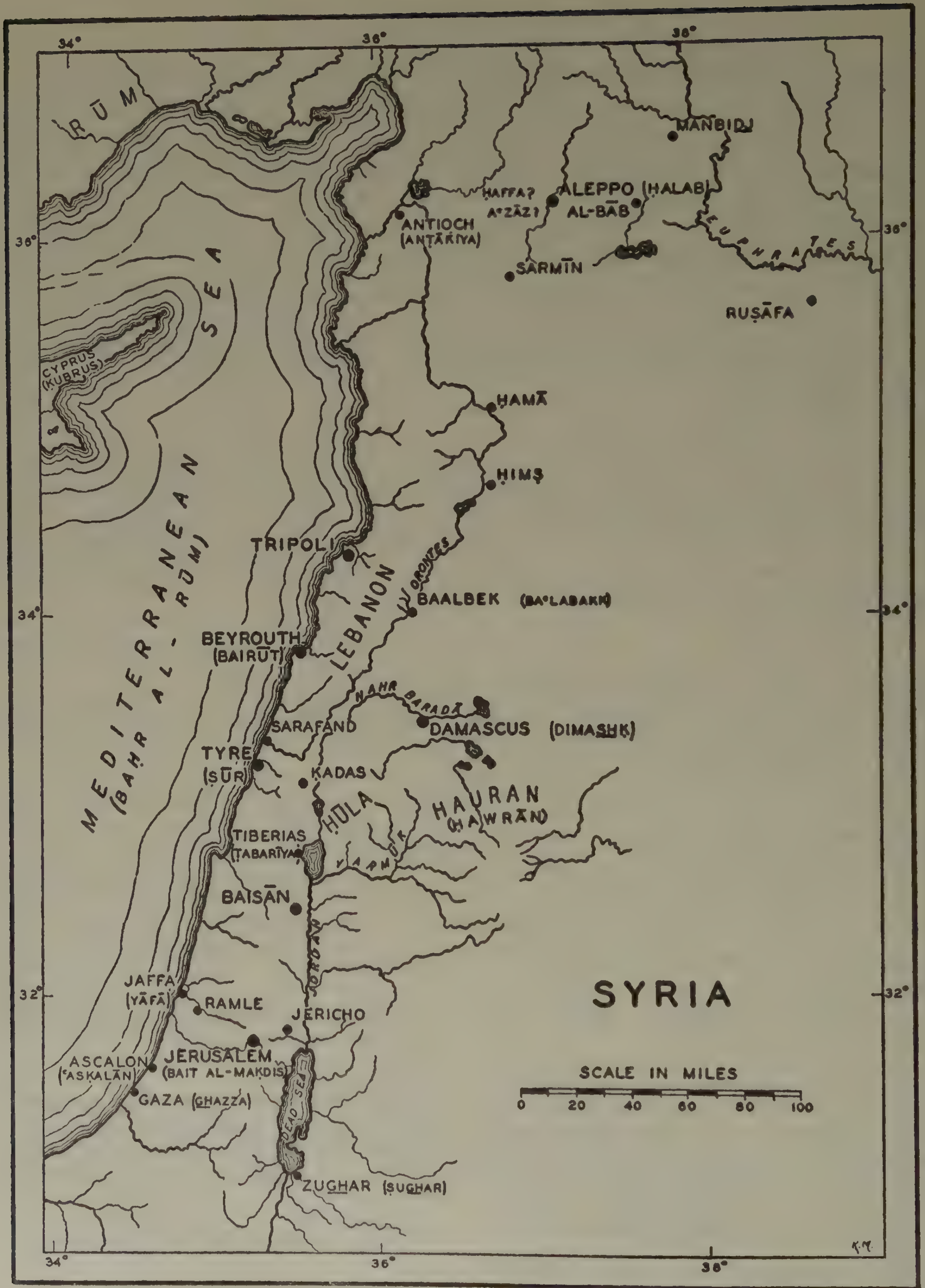
[13] For its cotton see P. Belon, *Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez* (Paris, 1588), fol. 57.

[14] Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān,* ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 231, trans. by T. Reinaud, II, 10.

[15] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* I, 437.

[16] *Ibid.,* II, 296. See Chap. IX, n. 35, and Chap. V, n. 55.

[17] Balādhurī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 180, trans., I, 280.


34°
36°
38°
RŪM
MANBIDJ
ḤAFFA?
AʿZĀZ?
ALEPPO (ḤALAB)
AL-BĀB
ANTIOCH
(ANṬĀKIYA)
EUPHRATES
SARMĪN
RUṢĀFA
CYPRUS
(KUBRUS)
SEA
MEDITERRANEAN
(BAḤR AL-RŪM)
ḤAMĀ
ḤIMṢ
TRIPOLI
LEBANON
ORONTES
BAALBEK (BAʿLABAKK)
BEYROUTH
(BAIRŪT)
NAHR BARADĀ
DAMASCUS (DIMASHK)
SARAFAND
TYRE
(ṢŪR)
ḲADAS
ḤŪLA
HAURAN
(ḤAWRĀN)
TIBERIAS
(ṬABARĪYA)
YARMŪK
BAISĀN
JORDAN
JAFFA
(YĀFĀ)
RAMLE
JERICHO
SYRIA
ASCALON
(ʿASKALĀN)
JERUSALEM
(BAIT AL-MAḲDIS)
GAZA (GHAZZA)
DEAD SEA
ZUGHAR (ṢUGHAR)
SCALE IN MILES
0
20
40
60
80
100
K.M.

Map 10—Syria

but though he may have instituted some palace factories, there is no evidence of manufacture there before al-Aṣmā'ī, quoted by Yāḳūt: "They have skill in manufacturing robes (aksiya), and every man there, rich or poor, spins wool while their women weave it." [18] Ḳazwīnī [19] noted: "The craft of its inhabitants is the manufacture of robes (aksiya), sacks, and bags which are taken thence to all lands."

Sarmīn, according to Ibn Baṭūṭa,[20] made a beautiful cotton cloth named Sarmīnī after it. Baalbek (Ba'labakk) stuffs were very famous in later times, but I have not found any references to them before the Mameluke period. The *Thousand and One Nights* mentions them in several places, and Ibn Baṭūṭa [21] remarked that "there are made in Baalbek the garments named after it, consisting of iḥrāms (a cloth wrapper used in the pilgrimage), ..." Under the events of the year 922 H. (1516 A.D.) Ibn Iyās [22] recorded that the puppet caliph in Egypt wore the Baghdad turban which has two ends, and a Baalbek robe (ḳabā') with ṭirāz borders of black silk (ḥarīr). The sultan himself wore a white Baalbek robe (ḳabā') with gold ṭirāz borders on broad black silḳ. Again, white Baalbek banners with the inscription "God make the Sultan victorious" are mentioned. Thus, in the Mameluke period there was probably a ṭirāz factory there.

Damascus (Dimashḳ), too, is but poorly documented. Maḳdīsī enumerated among its special products "ma'ṣūr and ba'līsī cloth and brocade." [23] Idrīsī, however, had rather a surprising fund of information:

> The city of Damascus contains many excellent qualities and many types of manufactures and various kinds of garments of silk (ḥarīr) such as khazz silk, precious and costly brocade of wonderful manufacture, with no equal; this is taken thence to every country and province adjoining it, and to those at a distance from it. The factories (maṣāni'), for all of those are marvelous, and their brocade resembles the finest brocade of Rūm (Byzantium), approximating to the garments of Dastuwā [24] and vying with the manufactures of Isfahan, surpassing the manufactures of the ṭirāz factories of Nishapur consisting of silken garments of one color (thiyāb al-ḥarīr al-muṣmata) and the wonderful garments of Tinnīs. Its (Damascus) ṭirāz factories contain all kinds of manufactures of precious cloth.[25]

In Mameluke times, too, the city had a ṭirāz factory. Maḳrīzī [26] stated that in the days of al-Nāṣir Muhammad ibn Ḳalāūn, one of the great emirs, was given a robe of honor (k͟hilʿa):

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[18] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 785.

[19] Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 133. Cf. Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *op. cit.*, I, i, 267.

[20] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), I, 146.

[21] *Ibid.*, p. 185.

[22] W. H. Salmon, *An Account of the Ottoman Conquest of Egypt* (London, 1921), XXV, 14, 94, 101. This translation is unreliable. See the review in the *Bull. School of Oriental Studies* (London, 1921–23), p. 330. See Ibn Ayās, *Badā'i' al-Zuhūr, Die Chronik des Ibn Iyās*, ed. M. Sobernheim and P. Kahle, *Bibliotheca Islamica*, V (Istanbul-Leipzig, 1931), VI, 39.

[23] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 180. Perhaps for "Ba'līsī" one should read "Ba'labakkī." This is conjectural; neither of these cloths is mentioned elsewhere.

[24] For "Dastuwā," it might be better to read "Tustar." See R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927) under Dastuwā'ī.

[25] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, p. 14. This text requires several minor alterations.

[26] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 227.

> . . . . a kind called Ṭardwaḥs͟h,[27] made in the dār al-ṭirāz which was in Alexandria, Cairo (Miṣr), and Damascus. It was embroidered with bands (mud͟jawwak͟ha d͟jāk͟hāt) which were inscribed with the titles of the sultan. It had bands d͟jāk͟hāt of Ṭardwaḥs͟h and bands of different colors intermingled with gold-spangled linen (ḳaṣab mud͟hahhab), these bands being separated by embroideries in color (nuḳūs͟h) and a ṭirāz border. This was made of ḳaṣab, but sometimes an important personage (among the officials) would have a ṭirāz border embroidered with gold (muzarkas͟ha bi-d͟hahab) with squirrel (sind͟jāb) and beaver (ḳundus) fur upon it as mentioned above. Under the cloak (ḳabā') of Ṭardwaḥs͟h there was a cloak of muḳtariḥ [28] with hoods (ṭarḥa [29]) of Alexandrine stuff, and a headdress (kallawta) of gold embroidery (zarkas͟h) with spurs, a turban (s͟hās͟h) as mentioned, and a waistbelt (ḥiyāṣa [30]) of gold, sometimes with plaques (baikārīya) and sometimes without them.

Ṭardwaḥs͟h seems to be a Persian compound name and is thought to be a cloth embroidered with animals or scenes from the chase, of which there are numerous examples extant today.

In the Hauran (Ḥawrān) district of Damascus lay Aʿnāk, and Yāḳūt [31] said: "Carpets (busuṭ) and fine robes (aksiya) are made in it which are named after it."

Maḳdisī [32] found that Ḥūla was a source of cotton, and "from Ḳadas come munaiyar (garments with a double warp." [33] Tiberias had, as specialties, "pieces of carpeting (s͟hiḳaḳ al-maṭāriḥ), paper (kāg͟hid), and cloth (bazz)." [34] According to Idrīsī: "In Tyre (Ṣūr) white garments of great beauty, of fine qualities and workmanship, expensive in price, are manufactured, and occasionally similar ones are manufactured in other parts of the surrounding country." [35]

Nāṣir-i-K͟husraw [36] said that artisans were numerous in Jerusalem, each trade having a separate quarter, as at the present time. The Jewish travelers had also some matters of interest to relate: "He (Rabbi Petachia) went to Jerusalem. The only Jew there is Rabbi Abraham the dyer and he pays a heavy tax to the king to be permitted to remain." [37] Benjamin of Tudela [38] found that "it contains a dyehouse for which the Jews pay a small rent annually to the king (Baldwin III) on condition that, besides the Jews, no other dyers be allowed in Jerusalem." [39]

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[27] Reading "Ṭardwaḥs͟h" for "Ṭrzwaḥs͟h."

[28] The sense of this word is unknown to me.

[29] Cf. R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), where this passage is cited and this garment described.

[30] Cf. *Ibid.*

[31] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 316. The exact locality of Aʿnak is uncertain, so it could not be inserted in the map.

[32] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 180.

[34] *Ibid.*

[35] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[36] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, C. Schefer, *Relation du Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau*, Publications de l' école des langues orientales vivantes (Paris, 1881), II, I, trans. p. 67.

[37] *The Travels of Rabbi Petaḥyah*, ed. and trans. by A. Benisch, and W. F. Ainsworth (London, 1856), trans. p. 61.

[38] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), p. 22.

[39] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, II, 187, mentions a fard͟jīya of green Ḳudsī at Maḳdas͟haw (Mogadischio)-Somalia. This should however be corrected to Maḳdas͟hī.

The city of Ramle, later the Muslim capital of Palestine, was founded by the Umayyad Sulaimān: "The first place he built was his palace, and then the house known as Dār al-Ṣabbāghīn ('the house of the dyers') in which he placed a cistern."[40] This building later passed into the hands of the Abbasids. It seems to have been some kind of royal factory, and the word ṭirāz itself[41] could equally well apply to a dyehouse. No more information, however, is forthcoming about this curious site though it is frequently mentioned by the historians. Maḳdisī[42] reported that "Ramle is the storehouse (khizāna) of Miṣr, and the meeting place of the two seas." Its unequaled veils[43] are also mentioned. Isaac Chelo[44] who journeyed through Palestine in the year 1334 A.D. said that in Ramle they had cotton factories.

The same Jewish traveler also remarked: "There is only one Jew living in this city (Sarafand near Ramla); he is a dyer and has fine works."[45] In Jaffa[46] he noted cotton thread and dyed stuffs.

The ḳazz silk of Ascalon ('Asḳalān), according to Maḳdisī[47] was surpassingly good. The textiles of Gaza (Ghazza) will be described in the chapter on Egypt, but, according to M. Murray,[48] there was silk in this area from pre-Muslim times.

The Jewish dyers of Palestine have been noticed in several cities, and Palestine was famous for the growing of the indigo plant. Of the town of Zughar, Ibn Ḥawḳal[49] said: "There is some manufacture of indigo (nīl) there, and there are workers who do not fall short of those in Kabul, though the dye does not come up to the standard of Kabul." Maḳdisī[50] mentioned indigo as an export of Jericho, Baisān, and Zughar (Ṣughar). Idrīsī[51] said: "The principal crop of the Ghor (Ghawr [the Jordan valley]) is indigo," and he specially mentioned the indigo of Jericho.

CYPRUS (ḲUBRUS)

This island exported cloth to the Muslims, for Abu 'l-Ḳāsim[52] of Baghdad spoke of a square carpet to sit upon, from Cyprus (ṭarrāḥa Ḳubrusīya). Ibn Ḥawḳal[53] noted that there is abundant silk (ḥarīr) and linen (kattān) in Cyprus, while Maḳdisī[54] said that "the Muslims derive advantages and profit from the large amount of goods, cloth (thiyāb), and articles which are brought from it." Cyprus madder was used for dyeing reed mats about the end of the thirteenth century.[55] Pedro de Teixeira[56] mentioned various dye stuffs of earth which he saw there, but such brief notices as these cannot do justice to the immense importance of Cyprus in the commercial world of the Near East during the Muslim era.

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[40] Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 143, trans., I, 220.

[41] Maḳḳarī, *Analectes sur l' histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagne*, ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855–61), I, 109.

[42] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[43] Maḳdisī, *Ahsanu-t-taqāsīm fī Ma'rifat-l-Aqālīm Known as al-Muqaddasi*, trans. by G. S. A. Ranking and R. F. Azoo (Calcutta, 1897–1910, incomplete). This does not exist in De Goeje's text.

[44] E. N. Adler, *Jewish Travellers* (London, 1930), p. 138.

[45] *Ibid.*, p. 138.

[46] *Ibid.*, p. 139.

[47] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

[48] Personal information.

[49] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed.; Leyden, 1938–39), p. 184.

[50] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[51] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, pp. 3 and 4.

[52] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 35. See also the passage in *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird* (Leipzig, 1881), by J. von Karabaček, pp. 71–73, quoting many European sources. For Ṭarrāḥa, see R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes.*

[53] Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. J. H. Kramers, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

[54] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 184.

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[55] Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba*, ed. R. Levy, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1938), n.s., XII, Nos. 284–5.

[56] *The Travels of P. Teixeira with His "Kings of Harmuz" and Extracts from His "Kings of Persia,"* trans. and annotated by W. F. Sinclair and D. Ferguson (London, 1902), p. 137. He also mentioned exports of cotton and silk (p. 134).

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

Of Tripoli anterior to the Mongol invasion, Burchard of Mount Sion (trans. by A. Stewart, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc. [London, 1897], XII, 16) said: "It is full of people, for therein dwell Greeks and Latins, Armenians, Maronites, Nestorians, and many others. Much work is done there in silk. I have heard for certain that therein there are weavers of silk and camlet and other like stuffs." Burchard went to the East in 1232 A.D., and his *Description of the Holy Land* is based on his experiences there.

M. Minovi has drawn my attention to an important article by D. N. Wilber and M. Minovi, "Notes on the Rab'-i Rashīdī," *Bull. Amer. Instit. Iranian Art and Archaeol.*, V (1938), III, especially pp. 249–52.

The authors of this article quote from the letters of Rashīd al-Dīn the famous vizier of Ghāzān Khan, a collection known as the *Mukātabāt-i-Rashīdī* in a manuscript which belonged to the late E. G. Browne and is now in the Cambridge University Library. Letter 51 refers to the Rashīdī foundation or estate in Tabriz and mentions that it included "factories for cloth-weaving and paper-making, a dye-house, a mint," which had been constructed at the orders of the vizier. People from every city and border have been removed to this quarter. The craftsmen and inhabitants transferred from other countries were established in separate streets. In this letter, which was written to his son the governor of the district of Ḳinnasrīn, the vizier said: "The object in writing this letter in short, is that you should send forth fifty camlet (ṣūf) weavers from Anṭākiya (Antioch) and Sūs and Tarsus, not by force and compulsion, but by kindness and persuasion so that they may come with carefree minds and voluntarily. Twenty more camlet weavers you must ask the King Theophilus, son of Michael from Ḳubrus (Cyprus) to send to Tabriz." The authors note that the kings of Cyprus at this time (before 718 H. [1318 A.D.]) were not Byzantines but the Lusignan dynasty, and Rashīd al-Dīn's information seems anachronistic referring to a much earlier period. The authors add that the wools (ṣūf) of Ḳubrus are mentioned in a book attributed to Niẓām al-Mulk known as *Kitāb-i-Waṣāyā* in which Niẓām al-Mulk related that Ḳubrus wool is sent to one of the Seljuk kings, his masters, among presents from Rūm (Byzantium).

M. Minovi has also given me a reference—al-Sam'ānī, *Kitāb al-Ansāb* facsimile ed., Intro. by D. S. Margoliouth, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1913), XX, 441: "Ḳubrusī, This is the adjective from Ḳubrus which is an island in the Mediterranean to which are attributed Ḳubrusī cloths (thiyāb) which are linen." (It is necessary to read kattān for k bān).

In the latter half of the fifteenth century, Maḥmūd Ḳārī of Yezd (*Dīwān-i-Albisa* [Constantinople, 1303 H.]) mentioned in several places Ḳubrusī wool (ṣūf), and once "Cyprus sixteen wool" (ṣūf-i-sittata 'asharī), the name presumably being derived from some technical process of manufacture, (pp. 61, 119, 15). A reference to "sypres for neckerchiefs," in Scotland in 1502 A.D. is to be found in J. Bain, *Calendar of Documents Relating to Scotland 1357–1509* (Edinburgh, 1888), IV, Addenda.

In *Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum, Exchequer Rolls of Scotland, 1264–1359* (Edinburgh, 1878), I, 380 under the "Accounts of the Clerk of the Kitchen & Clerks of the Wardrobe rendered at Scone 10th to 12th December 1331," is mention of the following items "una magna pecia panni cerici de Anteochia (Antioch) viij £. Et in nouem paruis peciis panni de Anteochia vt supra, xviij £ ij s . . . Et in nouemdecim peciis cindonis de Tripo (Tripoli) xij £ xiij s, iiij d." Cf. also p. 384 for a similar entry. In the same volume under the "Accounts of the Stewards of the House of the Earl of Carrick" for 1329 is the item: "Et per quandam peciam, panni de tarse (Tarsus) rubei coloris."

Another interesting source of information on the Syrian trade in textiles, also of the post-Abbasid period, is Ludolf von Suchem's *Description of the Holy Land*, Palestine Pilgrims' Text Soc. (London, 1895) written about 1350 A.D. Of Alexandretta and its district he said (p. 46): "Not far from Alexandria there is a village, all of whose inhabitants are Saracen work people, who weave mats wondrous well in divers fashions with most curious skill." Of Acre he said (pp. 60–61): "At this day about sixty Saracen mercenaries dwell in Acre as a garrison for the city and port and make a living out of silk and birds." Since the fall of Acre Christian women there dressed in black. Of Damascus he said (p. 129), that it is "rich in all manner of merchandise ... abounding in foods, spices, precious stones, silk, pearls, cloth-of-gold, perfumes from India, Tartary, Egypt, Syria, and places our side of the Mediterranean . . . and is incredibly populous, being inhabited by divers trades of most cunning and noble workmen, mechanics and merchants ... Each trade dwells by itself in a particular street, and each workman according to his craft and power, makes in front of his house a wondrous show of his work, as cunningly, nobly and peculiarly wrought as he can . . . But they sell everything very dear."

CHAPTER XV
TEXTILES IN THE YEMEN

THE FLOURISHING AND HIGHLY DEVELOPED PRE-Islamic civilization of southwest Arabia was much concerned in the trade carried along that greatest highway of the world, the Red Sea (Map 1). The author of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,*[1] writing about 70 A.D., gives a list of merchandise imported to Muza (modern Mawzaʿ), a few hours to the north of Mocha,[2] which is of considerable interest and may be compared with later lists of a similar nature. It included "purple cloths both fine and coarse; clothing in the Arabian style with sleeves; plain, ordinary, embroidered or interwoven with gold; saffron, sweet rush, muslins, cloaks, blankets (not many), some plain and others made in the local fashion, sashes of different colors."[3] To the present day blankets are still woven in the Yemen, each district producing its characteristic type; many are similar in pattern to the decoration of the carved alabaster ornamentation of the pre-Islamic era. Such blankets are used as mats or saddlebags for camels; perhaps they resembled those sent to Chosroes (see *infra*).[4]

A list of exports to the African coast of the Red Sea is also given; it can be assumed that these also went to the Arabian coast, especially the iron which, we know from Arab authors, went to Arabia:

> Likewise from the district of Ariaca (the northwest coast of India, especially round the Gulf of Cambay) there are imported Indian iron and steel, and Indian cotton cloth; the broadcloth called monachê[5] and that

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[1] *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* trans. by W. H. Schoff (New York, 1912), p. 30.

[2] For a discussion of the whereabouts of this locality, see C. v. Landberg, *Études sur les dialectes de l'Arabie méridionale* (Leyden, 1905–13), II, II, 1140. He quoted the name from Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Boldān. Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. H. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), IV, 680.

[3] Probably the characteristic South Arabian fūṭa (see *infra*) or perhaps the brightly colored waist sashes of the same material used by the people to this day.

[4] From the ʿAwdhalī country I brought to England a striped blanket carpet (shamla), corresponding exactly in pattern to the carved stone friezes illustrated in C. Rathjens and H. v. Wissmann, *Vorislamische Altertümer, Südarabien-Reise* (Hamburg, 1932), II, 52. For an illustration of the shamla, see E. Brauer, *Ethnologie der jemenitischen Juden* (Heidelberg, 1934), Taf. viii, 3, g. These are often though not invariably woven by Jewish weavers. In the well-known "Himyaritic" inscription, Glaser 1,000 A (trans. in N. Rhodokanakis, *Altsabäische Texte* [Wien and Leipzig, 1927], I, 25) the spinners of Īth are mentioned after the ʿŪd, the present ʿAwdhilla tribe, and they probably inhabited country not far from the ʿŪd. It is important that the word used in the inscription X11Ψ corresponds to the Arabic ḥulla, a characteristic word used to describe the Yemen product. X11Ψ is translated as *"tentoria, vici."*

[5] Schoff (*Periplus,* p. 72), suggested that monachê may be a corruption of some Indian trade name. The word seems to have the same radicals as the word nakhkh (pl. ankhākh), a form of which, munakhkhakh, I propose to read for munaḥḥaḥ in the passage from al-Bīrūnī's *Kitāb al-Djamāhir* (quoted in Chapter X). It does not seem to be an Arabic word, and may well be derived from India. It is used in a Chinese source (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches from Eastern Asiatic Sources* [London, 1910], II, 124) and in *The Book of Ser Marco Polo,* trans. by H. Yule (London, 1878), I, 65. Vullers, quoted by R.P.A. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), II, 648, described nakhkh as a *"tapetum vel stratum elegans et pictum,"* but it can also be *étoffe de soie brochée d'or brocart.* It is not improbable that monachê is connected with the Arabic word nakhkh.

called sagmatogênê, and girdles, and coats of skin and mallow-colored cloth (molochinê) and a few muslins and colored lac.[6]

Yemen stuffs are frequently mentioned by the early Arab poets an examination of whose works might elicit some slight particulars as to their style and form, and to the early Muslims the country was known as a wealthy province which produced textiles. There are traditional accounts of exports of cloth from the Yemen to the rest of Arabia. According to Azraḳī,[7] the Kaaba was covered by the Tubba' kings of the Yemen, long before Islam, with "waṣīla"[8] cloth of striped stuff (ḥibra) of the 'aṣb of the Yemen, while the prophet is said by no less an authority than Wāḳidī[9] to have covered the Kaaba with Yemen cloth (th̲iyāb Yamanīya). The prophet's ancestor, 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, was enshrouded in two cloaks (ḥulla) of the Yemen, worth a thousand mith̲ḳāls in gold; though this report is probably untrue, it shows the estimation in which the stuffs were held.[10]

During the reign of Khusraw Anūs̲h̲irwān (531–79 A.D.), a Persian expedition conquered the country which then became a vassal state under a line of Persian governors. According to T̲h̲a'ālibī,[11] the special products of the province were brought to Anūs̲h̲irwān by way of presents from his general Wahriz. The *Ag̲h̲ānī*[12] records that Bād̲h̲ān, the Persian governor of the Yemen, "sent to Kisrā (Chosroes) a caravan carrying cloth (th̲iyāb) of the Yemen kind, musk, ambergris, and two saddlebags (k̲h̲urd̲j̲) in which there were ornamented girdles (minṭaḳ)." This caravan never reached its destination, being plundered en route, but it does seem to show that Yemen cloth came to Persia either as presents or as part of the tribute, after the Sasanian practice.

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[6] *Periplus,* p. 24. For Indian swords, see F. W. Schwarzlose, *Die Waffen der alten Araber aus ihren Dichtern* (Leipzig, 1886), but there are iron workings dating from the pre-Islamic age in southwestern Arabia, from which the metal of the famous Yemen swords was, no doubt, derived.

[7] Azraḳī, *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857–61), I, 173–74.

[8] Plural وصائل , see 'Azīmuddīn Ahmad, *Die auf Südarabien bezüglichen Angaben Našwān's im Šams al 'Ulūm* (Leyden-London, 1916), Gibb Memorial Ser. (=G.M.S.) XXIV, 114, where it is said to be cloth brought from the Yemen. Muhammad Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī, *Tād̲j̲ al-'Arūs* (Cairo, 1307 H. [1888–89 A.D.]), VIII, 156 describes waṣīla as "striped red Yemen cloth" (th̲awb aḥmar muk̲h̲aṭṭaṭ Yamān-in), or as "red burūd upon which are green stripes (k̲h̲uṭūṭ)." E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863–93), I, 499, quoting early sources, described ḥibra as "a garment of the kind called burd . . . or a sort of burd of the fabric of El-Yemen . . . striped, munammar (or this word . . . may perhaps signify spotted) . . . a kind of garment of the fabric of El-Yemen, of cotton or linen, striped (muk̲h̲aṭṭaṭ)." For 'aṣb, *ibid.,* I, 2058: "A particular sort of the garment called burūd of the fabric of El-Yemen; a burd of which the yarn is dyed and then woven; or of which the yarn is put together and bound, then dyed, and then woven; . . . or garments of the kind called burūd of the fabric of El-Yemen, the yarn of which is put together and bound, and then dyed, and woven so that they become party-colored, because what has been bound thereof remains white, the dye not having taken it; and such garments a woman in the period termed 'idda is allowed to wear, but not garments that are (wholly) dyed; or striped garments of the kind called burūd; and what is forbidden in that case is a garment that has been dyed after it has been woven; or what are forbidden are the 'aṣb of El-Yemen which are said to have been dyed with urine." This is evidently a reference to the celebrated ikat cloth of the Yemen.

Burd, the textile always associated with the Yemen (pl. burūd), is described (*ibid.,* I, I, 184) as "a kind of striped garment . . . particular kinds thereof are distinguished by such terms as burd 'aṣb, and burd was̲h̲ī." He noted that a burda may be "a striped garment of the kind called s̲h̲amla." This is the striped woolen woven strips of carpet manufactured in South Arabia today.

[9] Quoted by Azraḳī, *op. cit.,* I, 176.

[10] Ya'ḳūbī, *Ibn al-Wād̲h̲iḥ qui dicitur al-Ja'qūbī historiae,* ed. by M. T. Houtsma (Leyden, 1883), II, 13.

[11] T̲h̲a'ālibī, *Histoire des rois des perses,* ed. and trans. by H. Zotenberg (Paris, 1900), p. 618.

[12] Abu 'l-Farad̲j̲ al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Ag̲h̲ānī* (Bulaq, 1285 H. [1888–9]), XVI, 78.

It may be as a result of this interchange with the Yemen that later Rayy manufactured cloths of the same kind as those of Aden, and Isfahan and Nishapur manufactured stuff called Sa‘īdī, which was also made at San‘a.[13] Kerman, according to D̲jahs̲hiyārī's list,[14] which is fuller than that of Ibn K̲haldūn,[15] sent with the tribute to the Abbasid caliphs, five hundred lengths of cloth (t̲hawb of Yamanī and K̲habīṣī stuff (matā‘). I surmise that this Yamanī stuff was either made or imported into Kerman.[16] It is quite possible that the Persians may have transferred Yemenites to Persia to carry on the manufacture of stuffs. The last Persian governor of the country was converted to Islam in the year 628 A.D., and the province with its tribute passed into Muslim hands.

Al-Nu‘mān of Ḥīra[17] (*ca.* 580–602 A.D.) used to send to the fair of ‘Ukāẓ, when the season came round, "perfume which the lord of Muḍar allowed him. This was sold and the proceeds spent on skins, silk (ḥarīr) . . . and striped material (burūd) of ‘aṣb-cloth, was̲hī-silk, and striped cloth of Aden (musaiyar ‘Adanī)." In later times the prophet condemned a musaiyar garment sold at the door of the mosque, this type of cloth being defined by al-Muṭarrizī[18] as "striped cloth (burūd) with an admixture of ḳazz silk, striped cloth with yellow stripes."

Many sources report the agreement made by the prophet with the inhabitants of Nad̲jrān that they should pay part of their tax in cloth. Ibn Sa‘d[19] wrote that the embassy from Nad̲jrān came wearing "striped cloth (ḥibra) and cloaks bordered with silk (ardiya makfūfa bi 'l-ḥarīr)." By the agreement they were to pay 2,000 cloaks (ḥulla), or according to another source," a thousand Nad̲jrān cloaks, and thirty ‘Ādite mail coats (dir‘)."[20]

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[13] See Chapters VIII, footnote 15, and X, footnote 37.

[14] al-D̲jahs̲hiyārī, *Kitāb al-Wuzarā' wa 'l-Kuttāb* (Cairo, 1938), pp. 281–88. K̲habīṣ is a small town not far from Kerman.

[15] See Chapter I, footnote 8.

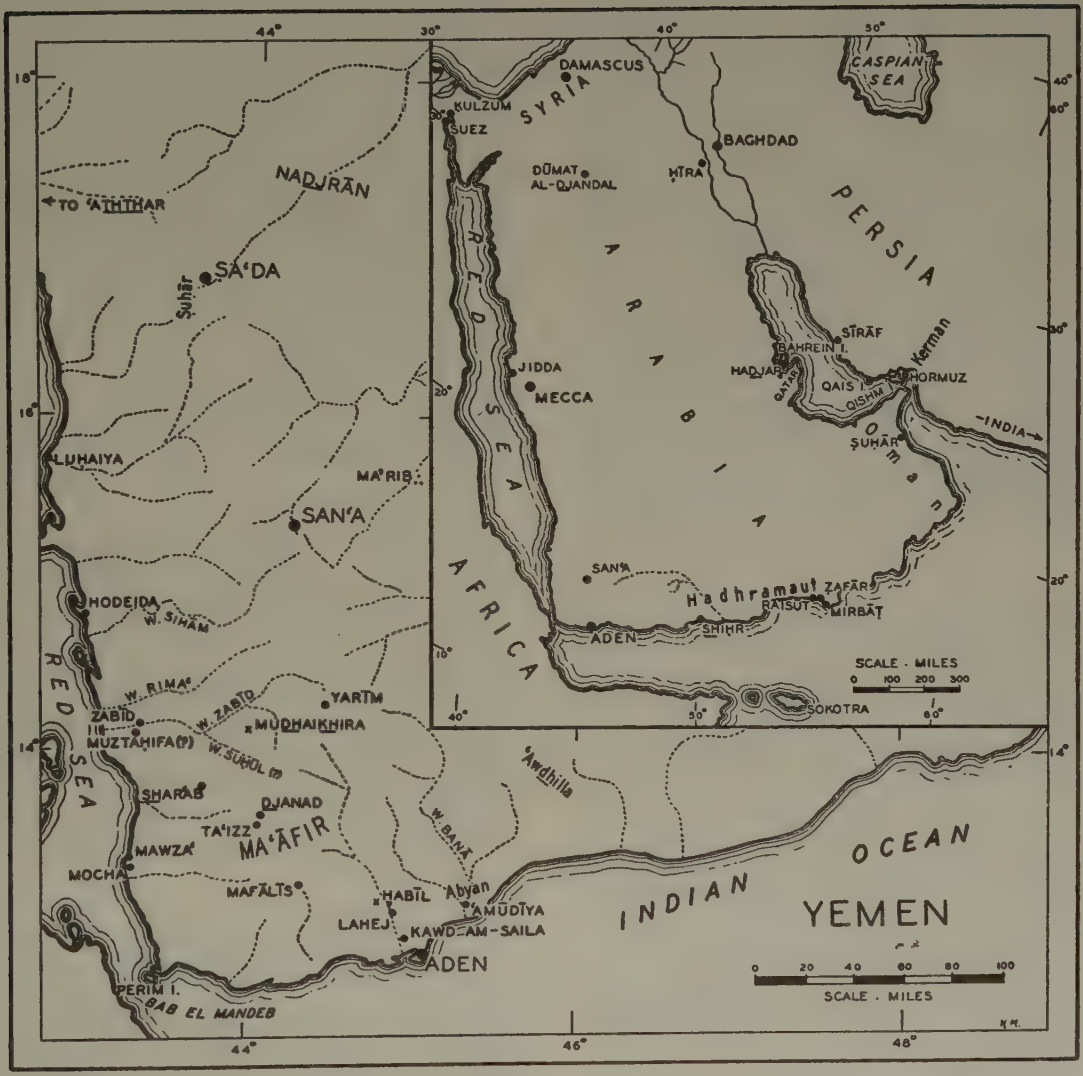
[16] The trade connections between Kerman and the South Arabian coastal cities must have been close. I have collected polychrome glass bracelets from the sites where they were manufactured, at Ḥabīl, Abyan, and Kawd Am-Saila, all within a day's journey of Aden, to discover later that Sir Aurel Stein had published a number of identical bracelets from the Makran coast in his *Archaeological Reconnaissances in South-Eastern Iran* (London, 1937). It is impossible to say whether the bracelets are post- or pre-Islamic as they are found in association with the remains of both periods; it seems probable that the manufacture originated in the pre-Islamic period and continued after the conquest without a break.

[17] *Kitāb al-Ag̲hānī*, XIX, 75.

[18] Nāṣir ibn ‘Abd al-Saiyid al-Muṭarrizī, *al-Mug̲hrib fī Tartīb al-Mu‘rib* (Hyderabad, 1328 A.H.), I, 272 (reference supplied by M. Minovi). Among other places there is a reference to this cloth in Buk̲hārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ* under the form سِيَرَآء, and in *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, ed. and trans. by C. J. Lyall (Oxford, 1918), II, 178, verse 9. In the former it is equivalent to ḥulla ḥarīr, a cloak of silk.

[19] Muhammad ibn Sa‘d, *Kitāb al-Ṭabaḳāt al-Kabīra*, ed. by E. Mittwoch (Leyden, 1905), I, 85, also, II, 36. There is little doubt that silk was known and probably also woven in the Yemen prior to the Muslim era. Al-Hamdānī (al-Hamdānī, *The Eighth Book of al-Iklīl*, trans. by N. A. Faris, under the title *The Antiquities of South Arabia* [Princeton, 1938], p. 75) mentioned "silk-lined garments and gold-embroidered robes" found in the Himyarite tombs. The apocryphal nature of the stories about these tombs should not blind one to the real evidence of their discovery. Hamdānī (*ibid.*, p. 45) said also of these Ḥimyarite tombs: "Some of their (better) shrouds, which are made of fine linen have endured."

[20] T̲ha‘ālibī, *T̲himār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]), p. 484. In Chapter III, I mentioned "two hundred Nad̲jrānī cloaks" brought with the local tax to Baghdad in the time of the Caliph Ma'mūn. A. S. Tritton has drawn my attention to the passage in Balād̲hurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 68, from which it is evident that the reference is to the tribute paid by those Nad̲jrānīs exiled to Mesopotamia


44°
30°
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DAMASCUS
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KULZUM
SUEZ
SYRIA
BAGHDAD
DŪMAT AL-DJANDAL
HĪRA
PERSIA
ARABIA
RED SEA
SĪRĀF
BAHREIN I.
HADJAR
QATAR
QAIS I.
QISHM
Kerman
HORMUZ
INDIA
ṢUḤĀR
Oman
JIDDA
MECCA
SAN'A
Hadhramaut
ZAFĀR
RAISUT
MIRBĀṬ
ADEN
SHIḤR
AFRICA
SOKOTRA
SCALE · MILES
0 100 200 300
TO 'ATHTHAR
NADJRĀN
SA'DA
Ṣuhār
LUHAIYA
MA'RIB
SAN'A
HODEIDA
W. SIHAM
RED SEA
W. RIMA'
ZABĪD
MUZTAHIFA(?)
W. ZABĪD
MUDHAIKHIRA
YARTM
W. SUHUL (?)
'Awdhilla
SHARAB
DJANAD
TA'IZZ
MA'ĀFIR
W. BANĀ
MAWZA'
MOCHA
MAFĀLTS
HABĪL
Abyan
'AMUDĪYA
LAHEJ
KAWD-AM-SAILA
ADEN
PERIM I.
BAB EL MANDEB
INDIAN OCEAN
YEMEN
0 20 40 60 80 100
SCALE · MILES

Map II Yemen

In early Islamic times, during the lifetime of the prophet, a governor of Djanad (near Taʿizz) who had a mother, a foreigner, perhaps a Persian, from Yemen in Hadhramaut, or it is said Ḥimyar, used to get thread from there called ghazl Yamān(in), according to an obscure and corrupt text in the *Aghānī*.[21] The prophet's grandson Husain, when killed at Kerbela, was wearing trousers (sarāwīl) of Yemen stuff.[22] The poet Omar ibn Abī Rabīʿa wore a variegated (or embroidered) Yemen cloak (ḥulla mawshīya Yamānīya),[23] and Farazdaḳ appears in a variegated Yemen cloak of cotton (ḥulla awfāf yamānīya muwashshā).[24] *The Aghānī*[25] records that Hishām ibn ʿAbd al-Malik had a "pavilion (surādiḳ) set up for himself, made of striped stuff (ḥibra) which Yūsuf ibn Omar had made for him in the Yemen. In it was another tent (fusṭāṭ) containing four sleeping mats (firāsh) of red khazz silk, with pillows of the same material. He himself was wearing a shirt (durrāʿa) and a turban (ʿimāma) of red khazz silk." This passage would lead one to infer that the Umayyad caliphs had royal factories in the Yemen itself, and Yemen garments seem to have been sent as robes of honor for a letter dated in the same reign, contains the phrase: "They have sent you the Yamanī garment (thawb), so when it comes to you, put it on."[26]

Djahshiyārī,[27] quoting a list of special products of the provinces brought to the treasury (Bait al-Māl) during the reign of Harun al-Rashid, a list compiled by an official who had also served under al-Mahdī, gave the figure for the annual tax as 870,000 dinars, apart from cloth (thiyāb). Rashid's physician, Bakhtīshūʿ ibn Djibrāʾīl, obtained annually along with other perquisites, three robes of figured material from the Yemen (al-washī al-Yamanī).[28]

Djāḥiẓ mentioned silken Yemen stuffs:

> The best kinds of figured washī stuffs are the Sābirī kind, the Kufan variety, the ibrīsm-silk kind (probably embroidered with silk), the type which is embroidered with gold and woven (al-mudhahhab al-mansūdj), then the Alexandrine figured washī stuff of pure linen, then that which is woven with gold, then the spun figured cloth (al-washī al-ghazlī), then that which has in it ibrīsm silk, but contains no gold; that is the Yamanī kind, because in this fashion it is more valuable than the spun (ghazlī) stuff. The ibrīsm-silk kind does not fetch the price that the Yemen type does, for a spun (ghazlī) garment sometimes fetches a thousand dinars.[29]

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by Omar. Describing the prophet's wardrobe, H. Lammens ("Fāṭima et les filles de Mahomet," *Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici* [Rome, 1912], pp. 69–70) said: "Pour les circonstances solennelles il revêtira donc la grande chlamyde rouge. Elle lui avait coûté 50 dinars. . . . Ou bien il choisira dans sa garde-robe les tuniques en soie, ou en pourpre, le beau manteau, chamarré d' or, rapporté par Khālid ibn al-Walīd de Dūmat al-Djandal; d'autres tuniques d'apparat, cadeaux des moines, habitant les déserts voisins, des chrétiens de Nadjrān, ou achetées par ses agents en Syrie, en Égypte, à Aden, à Ṣuḥār, à Ḳaṭar, au Ḥadramawt, et dans les autres centres manufacturiers comme Manbidj de Syrie." For the materials bought at Aden, Ṣuḥār, Ḳaṭar, and Hadramaut, Father Lammens unfortunately gives no references to the sources of his information.

[21] *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, I, 32.

[22] Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901), II, 364.

[23] *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–36), I, 259.

[24] *Ibid.*, IX, 338. Cf. ʿAzīmuddīn Aḥmad, *op. cit.*, p. 83: "Burd mufawwaf has white stripes (khaṭṭ) on it, and al-burūd al-mufawwafa are of the weave (nasdj) of the Yemen."

[25] *Ibid.*, II, 136.

[26] al-Djahshiyārī, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[27] *Ibid.*, pp. 281–88. Ibn Khaldūn (*Prolégomènes historiques*, ed. M. de Slane (Paris, 1862–68), I, 364, gave the revenue in the reign of Ma'mūn as "370,000 dinars without counting stuffs." Ibn Khurdādbih, *Liber viarum et regnorum*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1889), VI, trans. p. 108, estimated the tax at 600,000 dinars.

[28] Ibn Abī Uṣaibiʿa, *ʿUyūn al-Anbāʾ fī Ṭabaḳāt al-Aṭibbāʾ*, ed. A. Müller (Cairo, 1299 H. [1882 A.D.]), I, 136.

[29] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi ʾl-Tidjāra," *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 334 f.

In another place,[30] among the exports of the Yemen he enumerates khiṭr (a black dye), wars (a yellow dye still in use),[31] and cloaks (burūd[32]).

The geographers vary but little; according to Ibn Khurdādbih, "the exports of the Yemen are figured washī stuffs and other garments, ambergris, wars-dye, mules, and donkeys,"[33] and "Aden is one of the important ports[34] . . . there is ambergris there, and musk, as well as goods from Sind, Hind, and China, the Negroes (Zandj), Fars, Basra, Jidda, and Ḳulzum."[35] Ibn al-Faḳīh[36] said that "the people of the Yemen have Yemen cloaks (ḥulla), Sa'īdī, and Aden garments." Hamdānī (*ob.* 945 A.D.) said:

> In the Yemen are the precious kingly (mulūkī) articles of silk (ḥarīr), and leather mats (anṭā') of al-Ṣutt which do not get wet through the rain of many days, and the carpets of al-Rīḥ of this silk, and it is marvelous.[37]

Maḳdisī said:

> The specialties of the different parts of this province are the leather of Zabīd, and its unrivalled indigo (nīl[38]) which is like lapis lazuli, the linen cloths (shurūb) of Aden which are preferable to ḳaṣab-linen, the fibres of al-Mahdjara called līf, the striped cloaks (burūd) of Suḥūlā and al-Djuraib, the leather mats and bags of San'a, the Sa'īdī cloth of San'a, and the wars of Aden.[39]

Of Suḥūl, Bukhārī said:

> The apostle of God was shrouded in three pieces of white cotton stuff called Suḥūlīya, from the village of Suḥūl in the Yemen. In these three pieces there was neither shirt nor turban.[40]

Yemen fabrics enjoyed a high reputation in centers of fashion, for the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*[41] notes the striped cloaks of the Yemen as an item in a list of precious materials, and the *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*[42] says that the dandies of that age wore Aden cloaks with borders (al-ardiya al-muwashshāt al-'Adanīya). Even as late an author as Ibn Khaldūn [43] is moved to say, showing the estimation in which the Yemenite manufacture was held:

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[30] *Ibid.*, p. 342.

[31] For an article on wars, see A. Grohmann, *Südarabien als Wirtschaftsgebiet* (Wien, 1922), pp. 266–70.

[32] Throughout most of this work the word "burd" has been translated as "cloaks" wherever there is no contra-indication against this meaning. From footnote 8, it is clear that this word covers a whole range of textiles. See H. Scott, *In the High Yemen* (London, 1942), plate facing p. 137.

[33] Ibn Khurdādbih, *op. cit.*, trans., p. 52.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 41.

[35] For a note on Ḳulzum, a port near Suez (al-Suwais) which later supplanted it, see the *Encyl. Islām*, (Leyden, 1913–38), II, 1114–15.

[36] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 252. For the Arab-China trade, see Chau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chih, on the Arab and Chinese Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries*, trans. by F. Hirth, and W. W. Rockhill (St. Petersburg, 1911), I, 22, 61, 114. A broad survey of the available sources may also be consulted in Hadi Hasan, *A History of Persian Navigation* (London, 1928).

[37] Hamdānī, *Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel*, ed. D. H. Müller (Leyden, 1884–91), I, 202.

[38] The indigo of South Yemen is still well known. In many of the mountainous areas of the Aden Protectorate the tribesmen smear it on their bodies, and with it they dye their three pieces of clothing, the fūṭa, the sash, and the turban. Of recent years this practice has to a large extent disappeared in the Yemen itself. Cf. Grohmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 262–66.

[39] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii moslemici, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 98.

[40] Bukhārī, *el-Bokhârî, Les Traditions islamiques*, trans. by O. Houdas and W. Marçais, *Publications de l'École des langues orientales vivantes* (= *P.E.L.O.V.*) (Paris, 1905–14), IV, III, I, 409, 414. This is repeated in al-Balkhī, *Le Livre de la création et de l'histoire*, ed. and trans. by C. Huart (*P.E.L.O.V.*), IV (1916), XXII, V, text, p. 68. See also A. Sprenger, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients* (Leipzig, 1864), p. 154, and al-Zamakhsharī, *Kitāb al-Amkina wa 'l-Djibāl wa 'l-Miyāh*, ed. S. de Grave (Leyden, 1856), p. 85.

[41] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 132.

[42] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124.

> The arts last long in a civilized land. They are preserved there, always reviving, especially those which are peculiar to the Yemen, such as the manufacture of figured (washī) stuff, ‘aṣb-stuff, the weaving of clothes and stuffs of silk, etc., which have been brought to perfection.

A passage from Ḳalḳashandī [44] may indirectly imply the existence of ṭirāz factories in the Yemen:

> One of the insignia of the Caliphate consists of the caliphial garments (thiyāb al-khilāfa). Sultan ‘Imād al-Dīn, the lord of Hama, in his history, in the chapter on the biography of al-Malik al-Sa‘īd Isma‘īl, one of the Ayyubid monarchs in the Yemen, said that he acted foolishly therein. He claimed that he was one of the Umayyads and donned the caliphial garments. Then he (the author) said that the length of the sleeve in that day was twenty spans (shibr); he may have meant the time of the Umayyads or that of the Ayyubids.

Ibn Baṭūṭa [45] stated that the king of the Yemen (al-Mu‘aẓẓam Yūsuf ibn Rasūl) “used to provide the covering for the Kaaba until al-Malik al-Manṣūr Ḳalāūn (the Mameluke) deprived him of that right.” According to Khazradjī,[46] again in 800 H. (1397–98 A.D.), the sultan of Arabia sent the covering for the sacred edifice to Mecca.

The most important textile manufacturing center seems to have been the capital, San‘a. According to Ibn Rusta,[47] “from San‘a are imported leather, sandals of unscraped skins (ni‘āl musha“ara),[48] leather mats (anṭā‘), the valuable striped material (burūd), the cloth of a single color (muṣmat), and the striped cloaks (ardiya), a striped cloak fetching a hundred dinars there.” Hamdānī [49] remarked in passing that during the summer in San‘a the people wear “heavy clothes (ṣakrawī) of wool and silk.” Isḥāḳ ibn al-Ḥusain [50] (*ca.* 340 H. [950 A.D.]) wrote of precious garments made in San‘a. Idrīsī [51] said that “most of the houses are constructed of wood and planks; there is one where they make the stuffs known under the name of stuffs of San‘a.”

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[43] Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes d’Ebn Khaldoun,* ed. E. Quatremère, *Notes et Extr. de la Bibl. Nat.,* XVI-XVIII (1858), II, 314, and *Prolégomènes historiques,* trans. by M. de Slane (Paris, 1862–68), II, 366. For thiyāb al-khilāfa see Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A‘shā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.], III, 274.

[44] *Ibid.,* III, 274.

[45] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d’Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), I, 324.

[46] Khazradjī, *Al-Khazrajī’s History of the Rasúlí Dynasty of Yaman,* ed. E. G. Browne, R. A. Nicholson, and A. Rogers (Leyden-London, 1906–7), G.M.S., III, II, 268.

[47] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A‘lāḳ al-Nafīsa,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), VII, 112.

[48] This translation was suggested to me by R. Levy, and it may refer to the Badawi sandals known as ḥuyūsh.

[49] Hamdānī, *op. cit.,* p. 11 (before 334 H. [945 A.D.]). This word is uncertain. See the note of H. W. Glidden in his review of the Hamdānī edition of Faris, *Ars Islamica,* IX (1942), 223. Suquṭrāwī, Socotran, appears to be correct.

[50] Isḥāḳ ibn al-Ḥusain, *Kitāb Ākām al-Mardjān, Il compendio geografico arabo di Isḥāḳ . . .,* ed. A. Codazzi, *Rendiconti della r. accad. naz. dei Lincei,* VI, IV (1929), 390.

[51] Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 50. This passage is highly suspect for the houses of San‘a today are not constructed of wood but of stone; nor is it at all likely that they were constructed of other materials in Idrīsī’s time. If the translator is not at fault, Idrīsī’s information can scarcely be correct. At the present day Imam Yaḥyā has a private factory at San‘a said to be under the charge of an Egyptian, which makes fabrics for the royal house. At Aden I have seen a fine example of striped silk from this modern ṭirāz totally different from the peasant manufactures of the country. Gold is used in weaving there, and lovely stuffs worth very high prices are produced. I do not know whether inscriptions are ever on these textiles, but they closely resemble the medieval stuffs. Brauer, *op. cit.,* p. 246 said, “Ṣan‘ā’ ist für einen halbseidenen Stoff berühmt.”

Khāḳānī[52] mentioned the khazz silk of Kufa and the washī of San‘a as fine stuffs. Nuwairī[53] (*ob.* 1333 A.D.) noted that one says "the striped stuffs of the Yemen" and "the figured washī-stuffs of San‘a." These garments thus became proverbial; that some at least had a ṭirāz-inscribed border is known from modern discoveries of San‘a fabrics.[54] Ibn al-Wardī (early fourteenth century) mentioned the wars-dye of San‘a.[55]

Aden's participation in the textile trade probably goes even further back into antiquity than the writing of the *Periplus,* extracts from which have been quoted above. The purchases of Aden cloth made by the king of Ḥīra at ‘Ukāẓ represent a traditional knowledge of a textile trade to northern Arabia from Aden, although the story itself smacks of legend. Ibn Hishām[56] mentioned a man wearing an Aden cloak (ḥulla ‘Adanīya) at Minā during the heathen rites performed there before the triumph of the prophet. In the early Islamic period a lady in the Hejaz gave Aden cloth (thiyāb) as a present.[57] There does, however, seem to be some doubt as to whether the cloth known as "‘Adanī" was manufactured in Aden, or, as some authorities incline to think, was imported there from the Far East (India and China).

Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi[58] quoted from a poet: "Many a garden . . . which Aden has clothed with its washī-silk." Isḥāḳ ibn al-Ḥusain[59] gave Aden cloth brief mention, and Maḳdisī[60] noted in his list of items of merchandise which come to the port:

> Aden receives (in addition to other wares that come to the Yemen) ambergris, linen cloth (shurūb), shields, Abyssinian slaves, servants, leopard skins, . . . Chinese wares are proverbially famous.

The linen cloth was probably imported from Egypt; in this connection it is worthy of note that Abū Makhrama[61] mentioned a certain Abdallah ibn ‘Abd al-Djabbār ibn Abdallah al-‘Umawī al-‘Uthmānī al-Tādjir al-Bazzāz al-Kārimī al-Iskandarānī (the Alexandrine merchant and trader in cloth), who was born at Alexandria in 544 H. (1149–50 A.D.). This merchant presumably traded between Egypt and Aden. Nor is his an isolated instance, for another Alexandrine merchant is mentioned who flourished before 665 H. (1266–67 A.D.).

Goods coming to Aden from abroad or from the interior of the Yemen were taxed at the port. Abū Makhrama writing between 870 H. (1465 A.D.) and 947 H. (1540 A.D.) has preserved a tariff of dutiable goods drawn up by a certain Khalaf the Jew, called al-Nahāwandī, presumably a man of Persian origin like so many of the notables and traders established in the Yemen at that time. This tariff [62] was in operation during the sway of the Zurai'id dynasty (519–69 H. [1125–73 A.D.]), and the following dues were payable:

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[52] Khāḳānī, *Dīwān* (Teheran, 1316–17 H. [1899–1900 A.D.]), p. 630. This author flourished during the sixth century H. (thirteenth century A.D.). Reference from M. Minovi.

[53] Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), I, 369.

[54] Cf. *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe,* ed. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, and G. Wiet (Cairo, 1932), III, 151, IV, 174. See also "Ṭirāz," *Encyl. Islām, Suppl.* (Leyden, 1938), p. 250, where an Abbasid stuff from the San‘a ṭirāz dated 311 H., is mentioned.

[55] Ibn al-Wardī, *Perle des merveilles* . . ., par Ebn el-Ouardi, partly trans. by M. de Guignes, *Notes et ext. de la bibl. du roi* (Paris, 1789), II, 42.

[56] Ibn Hishām, *Das Leben Muhammed's nach Muhammed Ibn Isḥâḳ bearbeitet von Abd el-Malik ibn Hischâm,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1858–60), I, I, 282. Hamdānī, *op. cit.*, p. 86 quoted a legend that when ‘Ād ibn Iram's tomb was discovered the body was dressed in "two ‘Adanite garments heavily sewn with jewels."

[57] *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Bulaq., 1285 H. [1868–69 A.D.]), III, 105.

[58] Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *al-‘Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1293 H. [1876 A.D.]), III, 187.

[59] Isḥāḳ ibn al-Ḥusain, *op. cit.*

[60] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 97. Cf. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 51.

[61] Abū Makhrama, *Arabische Texte zur Kenntnis der Stadt Aden im Mittelalter* (Uppsala, 1936), II, 115, 117 (*Ta'rīkh Thaghr ‘Adan*).

> On the buhār (300 lbs.) of flax, seven and a half dinars. . . . On the pieces of silk of Zabīd manufacture, half a dinar and a djā'iz (equivalent to eight fils, a small copper coin) were charged; on a Ẓafār length of cloth (thawb), a quarter dinar and a djā'iz; on a white piece (shikka), the eighth of a dinar; on Sūsī three ḳīrāṭs, on Sūsī fūṭas (kilts or wrappers [63]), a quarter and a djā'iz; on a score of cloaks (kawradja al-Maḥābis [64]), four dinars; on a score of hand-woven fabrics (? aḥwāk), two dinars and a half, as also with subā'ī; [65] on a dozen lengths of unbleached Indian cloth (al-thiyāb al-khām), two dinars; on large Sūsī fabrics (sawāsī [66]) of linen (kattān), two djā'iz and a ḳīrāṭ; and on the small (variety) two djā'iz and two fils.

An interesting note adds that articles upon which no duty is payable are "pillows (mikhadda), cushions (miswar), and Arab [67] cloths made in Malabar (B d ḳ lī i.e., Batticalā)." [68]

Imports from Daibul are mentioned, but they do not include textiles. If the reading "Arab cloths" is correct, this passage may allude to the colored fūṭas made in the East Indies, similar to those imported at the present day. Sa'di's *Gulistān* [69] contains the story of a merchant who takes the Yemen striped cloth (burd-i Yamānī) to Pars, and the Rūmī brocade (dībā) to India, so there was evidently a not inconsiderable exchange of textiles with India during the thirteenth century, in which Sa'di flourished. The quantities of Far Eastern products which arrived at Aden may be conjectured from reading that in 703 H. (1303–4 A.D.) a merchant arrived from China (Khiṭā) with merchandise of great value, including "silk (ḥarīr) 300 buhārs (1 buhār being equivalent to 300 Baghdad raṭls or pounds) . . . a great quantity of cloth of different colors." The duty he paid on these and other goods at Aden port amounted to the enormous sum of 300,000 dinars.[70]

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[62] *Ibid.*, I, 59, 60. According to W. H. Ingrams, *A Report on the Hadramawt* (London, 1937), p. 13, the buhār is about 300 lbs.

[63] For this word fūṭa (pl. fuwaṭ), see S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India* (Madras, 1942), p. 96, quoting al-Muhallabī (fourth century H.): "I have not heard this word in aught of the language of the Arabs, and I know not whether it be an Arabic word or of the language of the foreigners, but I have seen in al-Kūfa striped waist wrappers which are sold, and are bought by the camel drivers and the Arabs of the desert and the servants and people of the lowest sort who use them as waist-wrappers and call them thus." Dr. Nainar quoted Ibn Duraid as maintaining that it is a word of the language of Sind arabicised from پوته , and another source which gives the Yemen equivalent as Azharīya. Nashwān ibn Sa'īd (*op. cit.*, p. 82) said: "Al-fūṭa is striped cloth (burd mukhaṭṭaṭ) brought from the Yemen."

[64] Vocalised kūradja, in E. V. Stace, *An English-Arabic Vocabulary* (London, 1893), p. 149. In the translated extract from the "Ta'rīkh al-Mustabṣir of Ibn al-Mudjāwir" in F. M. Hunter, *An Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia* (London, 1877), p. 193, maḥābis is rendered "coverlets or cloaks." This, however, is probably not a very satisfactory rendering. In Chapter X of this inquiry, reins are said to have been woven in the prisons of Bukhara (maḥābis), and perhaps some word has been lost here in the text which might have given the name of a stuff woven in the prisons. Löfgren makes it equivalent to "miḳrama, Decke."

[65] Subā'ī, literally "(cloth) consisting of seven (parts)," or "seven (yards in length)." The meaning is uncertain, but Miles (op. cit.) translated this word as " scarves. " This name is now applied to a type of waist-wrapper used by tribesmen and seems to refer to the pattern.

[66] Sawāsī, another uncertain word which has been taken here as a plural of Sūsī, the well-known fabric. It may, however, be the name of some kind of garment, the name having been extended from the place to a special piece of clothing, or it may even be merely the name of some type of fabric without relation to any place of origin, as we now say "damask." I have become very uncertain whether to derive this name from Sūs in Khuzistan, Sūs in North Africa, or Suez in Egypt. As this textile is of linen, and we have no reference to linen at Sūs in Khuzistan, I think that the cloth intended is Suez cloth, and that it is a trade-name for cloth exported from Egypt by this route.

[67] Miles, *op. cit.*, p. 194, has "garabi" for " 'Arabī."

[68] Abū Makhrama, *op. cit.*, I, 63–64.

[69] Sa'di, *The Gulistān of Sa'dī*, ed. J. Platts (London, 1874), p. 82.

Abū Makhrama [71] added that a sort of cloth called "Rūsī is sold by the ḳaṣaba, the length of the ḳaṣaba being four cubits (dhirāʿ)." Rūsī cloth is also mentioned by Mahmud Ḳārī of Yezd [72] and by ʿUmarī,[73] the former also alluding here and there to the striped cloth of the Yemen (burd-i-Yaman).

Ibn al-Wardī described Aden:

> . . . jolie ville qui est l' abord des vaisseaux de l' Inde et de la Chine, et où l' on trouve toutes les productions des pays Orientaux qui y sont apportées de divers endroits, de la soie, des armes . . . des myrolabans . . . et des habits faits d' herbes, plus estimés que ceux de soie.[74]

Ibn al-Wardī may be referring to the finely plaited reed of bamboo which grows in the Yemen, made into the little caps worn under the turban by the inhabitants of the Tihāma coast; these are so finely made that they are as pliable as cloth.

Ibn Baṭūṭa remarked:

> Large ships come here (to Aden) from Cambay (Kanbāyāt), Tannah (Tāna), Quilon (Kawlam), Calicut (Ḳāliḳūt), Fandarāyina, Shāliyāt, Mangalore (Mandjarūr), Fākanwar, Onor (Hinawr), Goa (Sandābūr). Indian merchants live in this town.[75]

Some of these Indian cities mentioned by Ibn Baṭūṭa are cited by several Arabic sources as manufacturing or exporting textiles.

There was a vigorous trade in madder (fuwwa) exported from the Yemen to Aden by way of Mafālīs [76] between the years 600–700 H. During the Zuraiʿid period it was liable on import into the city to a duty of twelve dinars a buhār. Saffron and indigo were also imported and dutiable.[77] In this connection it may be added that another substance sometimes used in dyeing, myrobalan (ihlīladj), is mentioned at al-Muztaḥifa one parasang from Zabīd, on the Aden road.[78]

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[70] Khazradjī, *op. cit.*, text, ed. Muhammad ʿAsal (Cairo-London, 1913–18), IV, 350.

[71] Abū Makhrama, *op. cit.*, I, 65. Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, V, 93, noted that in India only those notables "wear garments of linen (kattān) imported from the Rūs and Alexandria whom the sultan has clothed with it."

[72] Niẓām al-Dīn Mahmud Ḳārī of Yezd, *Dīwān-i-Albisa* (Constantinople, 1303 H. [1885–86 A.D.]), pp. 9, 17, 39. For this poet see P. Horn, "Der persische Kleiderdichter Machmud Kari," *Beil. Allgem. Zeit.*, CCXXXVIII (Munich, 1900), 3–7. For Yemen cloth, *ibid.*, pp. 30, 38, 183. Rūsī seems to have been a linen cloth.

[73] See Chapter XIV.

[74] Ibn al-Wardī, *op. cit.*, p. 43.

[75] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, II, 177. For these Indian ports, Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Travels in Asia and Africa,* trans. by H. A. R. Gibb (London, 1929). Still later G. W. F. Stripling, *The Ottoman Turks and the Arabs, 1511–1574* (Urbana, Ill., 1942), p. 23, has summarized the information supplied by the European travelers of the period which he covers: "It (Aden) enjoyed a large trade with the coast of eastern Africa and Hurmuz. To the former were brought clothes, and in return the merchants carried back to Aden gold, horses, and ivory. Aden exchanged its copper, quicksilver, vermilion, coral, wool and silk cloths, opium, raisins, rosewater, stuffs from Mecca, ingot gold, thread, and camlets with the Indian merchants for beads, spices, drugs, rice, iron, sugar, pepper, ginger, lacquer, musk, cottons, spun and unspun, coconuts, benzoin, sandalwood, aloes, and rhubarb. The cotton ships from India were so large that they amazed the Europeans. Twenty-five was the usual number of vessels in the annual fleet carrying madder to dye clothes in Hurmuz. But not only Aden was noted for its commerce; on a smaller scale the cities of Taʿizz and Zabīd were famous for their wealth from the same sources."

[76] Abū Makhrama, *op. cit.*, I, 63, 60, and elsewhere.

[77] *Ibid.*, I, 59.

[78] Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 149. For myrobalan see also Nainar, *op. cit.*, p. 200. H. Lammens, "La Cité arabe de Ṭaif à la veille de l'Hégire," *Mélanges de l'Université de Saint-Joseph à Beyrouth,* VIII (1922), IV, 208 quoted Burkhardt on Aden stuffs.

The Ma‘āfir in the Ta‘izz district had, from the earliest times, a reputation as weavers. The Tubba‘ As‘ad Kāmil, according to legend, the first person to cover the Kaaba,[79] is said to have hung it with Ma‘āfir cloth, and the prophet's body is also said to have been wrapped in cloth from that district. Abū Dharr[80] defined the word: "Al-Ma‘āfir are cloths (thiyāb) of the cloth of the Yemen." Ibn Hishām[81] related that the Prophet gave an order that in the Yemen every Christian or Jew must pay a full Ma‘āfir dinar, or "a length (‘urḍa) of cloth." Besides Ma‘āfir, striped cloths (burūd) were made in many localities, the most frequently mentioned of which are Ḳudūm[82] and Shar‘ab.[83] Today Shar‘ab is known for its many Jewish weavers.[84]

Zabīd, still a noted center of weaving today,[85] is described by Maḳdisī[86] as the gateway of China and the seaport of the Yemen. Its silk manufactures, as already noted, were taxed at Aden, and Khazradjī[87] included a material called Zabīdī with Bunduḳī and Mosul stuffs as being with a force proceeding along the south coast of Arabia to Ẓafār and Raisūt (*ca.* 678 H. [1280 A.D.]).

The wars plant was grown at Mudhaikhira (near Suḥūl), according to Ibn Ḥawḳal.[88] "On its slopes wars, which is a red plant of the same type as saffron, is planted. Two maunds of it are sold for a dinar, and it is used for dyeing." It is one of the products for which the Yemen is famed. Yāḳūt[89] said:

> Al-Aṣma‘ī said, "There are four things which have filled the world and which are only to be found in the Yemen. These are wars, dye, frankincense (kundur) woad (khiṭr), and ‘aṣb-cloth." [90] He continued, "Ibrāhīm ibn Makrama one day boasted before al-Ṣaffāḥ (132–36 H. [749–54 A.D.]) when Khālid ibn Ṣafwān was present, and this began to irk him, so he said, 'After all, you are

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[79] *Encyl. Islām, Suppl.*, p. 138, Ma‘āfir, and also the Shams al-‘Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[80] Abū Dharr, *Sharḥ al-Sīra*, ed. P. Brönnle (Cairo, 1911), II, 445. Cf. Shams al-‘Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

[81] Ibn Hishām, *op. cit.*, I, II, 956. The word ‘urḍa is perhaps equivalent to عرضية in Dozy, *op. cit.*, II, 113, though in the reference cited there it is applied to a turban cloth. See also al-Zamakhsharī, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[82] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 39. Cf. Zamakhsharī, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

[83] *Ibid.*, III, 275. Cf. Shams al-‘Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 53 Another place mentioned in the latter book (p. 68) is ‘Abḳar: "the name of a place in the Yemen in which washī-silk is woven." M. Minovi has given me a reference to E. G. Browne, "Description of an Old Persian Commentary on the Ḳur'ân," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1894, p. 492. The MS of this Koran was probably transcribed in 628 H. (1231 A.D.), but the material is probably somewhat earlier. A note says: "'Abḳarī is said to be a town where they weave good washī-silk."

Shams al-‘Ulūm (*op. cit.*) also mentioned several other types of Yemen cloth which have not been identified. One of these is (p. 35) khāl, which name also appears in *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, II, 94, and is described as a Yemen stuff striped black and red (burūd fīhā khuṭūṭ sūd wa-ḥumr) from which "drawers" were made. Yet another cloth (Shams al-‘Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 40) is muraḥḥal "one of the striped cloths (burd) of the Yemen with pictures (taṣāwīr) of 'al-riḥāl' on it." In this latter case one ought probably to read muradjdjal and ridjāl. Muradjdjal is described by Lane, *op. cit.*, I, III, 1047, as "burd upon which are the figures of men." *Ibid.*, I, III, 1047, quoting from native sources as in the previous case: Riḥāl are "carpets or cloths, or the like, such as are called ṭanāfis of the fabric of El-Heereh" (Al-Ḥīra in Iraq).

[84] Brauer, *op. cit.*, p. 246.

[85] *Ibid.*

[86] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 84 and 86.

[87] Khazradjī, *op. cit.*, I, 211. Bunduḳī is probably Venetian linen cloth. Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, V, 405, said of Venice (Mamlakat al-Banādiḳa): "It is the source of the Venetian sheeting (? djūkh -"drap") which surpasses every kind of sheeting."

[88] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum*, ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed.; Leyden, 1938–39), p. 37. Cf. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, I, 51.

[89] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 1036. Cf. Ibn Ḳutaiba al-Dīnawarī, *‘Uyūn al-Akhbār* (Cairo, 1925 A.D. [1343 H.]), I, 214.

[90] Abū Dharr, *op. cit.*, I, 32, said: "'Aṣb is a kind of cloth (thiyāb) of the Yemen." Cf. Shams al-‘Ulūm, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

but tanners of hides, weavers of striped cloth (burd), keepers of monkeys, and riders of bad animals.' "

Yemen stuffs have been discovered and studied in detail. Most of the known examples are made of cotton, which was both imported and grown, at any rate in the lower Yemen, for Khazradjī[91] spoke of cotton plants ('uṭb) growing on the 'Iskilīya plain in the Sihām district on the low western seaboard country to the north of the valleys of Zabīd and Rima', about the year 726 H. (1325 A.D.). The same author[92] recorded under the annals for the year 1392 A.D., that the inhabitants of the Wādī Zabīd and elsewhere were excused from the "growing of cotton," or, more probably, from the "tax on cotton."[93] Cotton is grown in the Yemen to this day, and in the course of the last twenty years Imam Yaḥyā's government has been making experiments with Egyptian seeds of the Sakellaridis type.[94]

Pfister[95] has discussed Yemen stuffs: "L' effet flammé est obtenu par le procédé de l'Ikat qui a peut-être pris son origine en Arabie et qui a trouvé son plus grand développement dans les isles de la Malaisie et au Camboge." He cited a piece of Yemenite material from the Musée Arabe which is embroidered with the name of al-Muḳtadir. The ṭirāz-bearing textiles illustrated by N. P. Britton[96] seem, in several respects, similar to the present-day fūṭas of the Yemen, which also have the ikat; there also seems to be a certain resemblance in the woven patterns and the finish of the ends of the material after it is taken off the loom. In the larger cities it is possible that nearly identical types of cloth still in actual use and manufacture might yet be found. A description of the loom employed in South Arabia to this day is given by F. M. Hunter.[97]

From the sparse documentary evidence at present available it is not possible to form an adequate conception of the commercial activity in the cities of the southern coast farther to the east than Aden, but there is little doubt that they had an importance which was more than merely local. Marco Polo[98] mentioned the imports of cotton at Shiḥr. Ibn al-Mudjāwir[99] quoted by Guest, stated that about the year 618 H. (1221 A.D.) there was a road from Baghdad to Raisūt by which caravans used to bring Baghdad fabrics and take back Indian products. The duties paid on Ẓafār cloth at Aden in the twelfth century have already been noted, and Ibn al-Mudjāwir[100] spoke of the cloth taken back from there to Baghdad by the caravans. Ibn Baṭūṭa[101] said of this port: "Their garments are of cotton which is imported to them from India . . . They make beautiful silk (ḥarīr), cotton, and linen stuffs there."

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[91] Khazradjī, *op. cit.*, III, 45. This text, however, seems to be somewhat corrupt.

[92] *Ibid.*, IV, 229.

[93] For مصالحة العطب "the growing of cotton" of the existing text, I propose to read مصادرة العطب, "the tax on cotton."

[94] These experiments are commented upon by Nazīh Mu'aiyad al-'Aẓm, *Riḥla fi 'l-Bilād al-'Arabīya al-Sa'īdīya* (Cairo, 1937). Brauer, *op. cit.*, p. 246, said: "In Jemen ist die Weberei allerdings auch unter den Arabern weit verbreitet, besonders in den Gebieten, die eine Baumwollkultur besitzen."

[95] R. Pfister, "Matériaux pour servir au classement des textiles égyptiens postérieurs à la conquête arabe," *Rev. des arts asiatiques*, X (1936), 78. See further the article of M. P. Verneuil, "L'Ikat et les tissus ikatés des Indes orientales," *Rev. des art asiatiques*, III (1926), 123. Pfister also mentioned an article by Iklé, "Über Flammentücher," *Festschr. f. Marie Andrée Eysn* (1928).

Pfister noted that according to Pliny, cotton grew in Arabia.

[96] N. P. Britton, *A Study of Some Early Islamic Textiles* (Boston, 1938), pp. 72–75, Pls. 91 and 92. Mrs. Britton also gave (p. 74) a list of sources where Yemen textiles have been discussed. Cf. also her "Pre-Mameluke Ṭirāz in the Newberry Collection," *Ars Islamica*, IX (1942), 166. For a fūṭa similar to these ancient weaves, see H. F. Jacob, *Kings of Arabia* (London, 1923), pl. facing p. 206. Without doubt the patterns of these fūṭas are of great antiquity. Local custom lays down the colors and types of cloth which men and women may wear. The mountain tribes mostly wear cotton fūṭas dyed with indigo. Nowadays the Yemenites mainly wear white. Where colored fūṭas are worn each tribe seems to prefer a special type. Many materials are still made locally, but there is an import of Syrian and Indian silks, and Indonesian textiles.

[97] Hunter, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[98] *The Book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, trans. by H. Yule (London, 1875), II, 278. Stripling, *op. cit.*, p. 23, referring to a later period, described the trade of Shiḥr, the most important city of the kingdom of Fartak, "It had a great trade in wares from Cambay, Chaul, Dabul, Baticala, and Malabar. Coarse and fine cotton

On the authority of an earlier author, Ḳalkashandī[102] gave the following note on the liberal attitude of the rulers of the Yemen toward the arts:

> The kings of the Yemen import continually from Egypt and Syria (Miṣr wa 'l-Shām) numbers of craftsmen and traders (arbāb al-ṣinā'āt wa 'l-badā'i') with their wares of various kinds. The pre-eminent cadi Abu 'l-Rabī' Sulaimān b. al-Ṣadr Sulaimān said, "The lord of this realm ever wishes strangers, receives them well, and gives them (official) employment according as is suitable to each of them."

This statement is borne out by the numerous names which indicate a foreign origin in the histories of the medieval Yemen.

This chapter should not close without a note on the "Dragon's Blood" (dam al-akhawain) produced at Sokotra. It is mentioned by the anonymous author of *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, by a contemporary of the Prophet,[103] and by many other writers.

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stuffs, jewels, ... were exchanged at Shiḥr for horses and wormwood. Ẓafār, its nearest rival, also maintained a considerable trade with the Indian merchants, especially in cottons and rice." Today, Shiḥr is an important center of cotton weaving. The cotton is mostly imported, but the plant grows in the Hadramaut, and yarn was at one time made from it. Some silk is also woven in Shiḥr.

[99] R. Guest, "Zufar in the Middle Ages," *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad, 1935), IX, III, 405. See Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

[100] Sprenger, *op. cit.*, p. 146: "Es gab einen sichern Weg von Baghdad nach Mirbāṭ und Ẓafār, auf welchem die Beduinen zweimal im Jahre Pferde nach Yemen brachten und dafür Rosenwasser ('iṭr) und Kleidungsstoffe (bazz) mit nach Iraq zurücknahmen."

[101] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages*, II, 198–99.

[102] Ḳalkashandī, *op. cit.*, V, 36; for an account of the dress of the officials of the country see *ibid.*, V, 34.

[103] See, *The Mufaḍḍalīyāt*, II, 358, and *Encyl. Islām*, IV, 476–81, "Soḳoṭrā." At the present time woolen strips are woven in Sokotra in grays and browns. They are known locally as Suḳuṭrawīya.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE I

Ḳalkashandī (*op. cit.*, I, 410–11) has an interesting article entitled "The Famous Markets of the Pre-Islamic Arabs," which has probably been extracted bodily from some much earlier book, but without acknowledgment. From internal evidence it is clear that the earlier author utilized by Ḳalkashandī was drawing on fairly reliable material. At any rate it is probable that the author of this passage, if my surmise is correct, had sources at his disposal as reliable as those used by the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* for the pre-Islamic period, and quoted here: "The Arabs had markets (sūḳ) which they used to set up during the (various) months of the year. They used to go from the one to the other, and all of the Arab tribes, from near or afar, attended them. They would encamp at Dūmat al-Djandal on the first of (the month) Rabī' al-Awwal to set up their fairs for buying and selling and interchange of commerce. Ukaidir of Dūma used to tax them one-tenth there (reading here and throughout this passage يعشرهم for يعشوهم), for he was the king of Dūma; but sometimes (the) Kalb (tribe) obtained possession of the market—then one of the Kalb chiefs would take the tax from them. Their fair would last there until the end of the month, then in the month of Rabī' al-Ākhir, they would go to the market of Hadjar at Bahrein, and their fairs would be (held) there. At this market al-Mundhir b. Sāwā, one of the Banū 'Abdallah b. Dārim, the king of Bahrein, would tax them one-tenth. Then from Bahrein also, they would travel to Oman where their fair would take place. Thence they would go, to encamp at Iram and the villages of Shiḥr of the Yemen, where fairs would be set up for some days. They would next go and stop at Aden of the Yemen from which they bought perfumes (laṭīma) and various sorts of scent (ṭīb). After this they would take their way to

CHAPTER XVI
EGYPTIAN TEXTILES

INDICATIONS ARE NOT LACKING TO SHOW THAT the Arabs, before they overran the Near East, were well acquainted with, and prized Egyptian stuffs (Maps 12 and 13). The Coptic textiles (Ḳubāṭī) with which Omar and Othman used to cover the Kaaba, have already been discussed in a previous chapter.[1] This cloth must, I think, have come from the Tinnīs-Damietta group of factories, in which the weavers, even under Muslim domination were Copts. It is likely that this Coptic cloth was imported into the Hejaz for several hundred years before Muhammad; the holy cities were supplied with corn from Egypt by way of Jidda. Maḳrīzī spoke of a Ḳubāṭī covering for the Kaaba made at Shaṭā in the time of Harun al-Rashid,[2] which is virtual proof that this was what the Arab writers understood by the term, though it need not have been applied exclusively to the products of this group of factories.

Nor was Rashid the first of the Abbasid monarchs to use this material, for Azraḳī[3] recorded that al-Mahdī covered the Kaaba with "Ḳubāṭī, and khazz silk and brocade." Ma'mūn, in 206 H. (821 A.D.) asked the postmaster of Mecca what the best type of cover for the Kaaba was, because it was discovered that the covers wore away too quickly. After his time, the Sacred House was given three coverings—first, red brocade (dībādj), then Ḳubāṭī, then white brocade.[4] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi confirmed this:

> When the season for the meeting of the pilgrims at Mecca (al-Mawsim) drew nigh, it (the Kaaba) was covered with Ḳubāṭī, which is white Khurāsānī, brocade. It is this covering (kiswa) that the people wore as iḥrāms (the pilgrim garb of simple white cloth). When the people had accomplished the pilgrimage, that is, on the day called Yawm al-Naḥr, the house was stripped and

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visit Hadramaut of the land of the Yemen. Some, on the other hand, used to omit (calling) there, and go (straight) to San'a to hold fairs where they traded for its kharaz (beads, gems, or shells of the type called wada', "cowries"), leatherware (adam), and striped cloaks (burūd) which were exported to San'a from Ma'āfir. In the Sacred Months they proceeded to (the fair of) 'Ukāẓ where markets were held, chanting verses to one another and engaging in disputation. Whosoever had a (fellow tribesman) a prisoner, sought to ransom him, and whosoever had a case, would bring it before (the person) who had the right of judgment. The last person to hold this right was al-Aḳra' b. Ḥābis al-Tamīmī. Then they would stop at 'Arafa and perform the rites of the pilgrimage, after which they would return to their native lands, arriving in safety and with great profit."

I have altered the reading in this passage because it does not make sense as it stands, and because in the Yemen of today and the Aden Protectorate a market tax is an ancient established custom. If kharaz in the context here means "beads" it would be evidence of the existence of glass manufacture in this part of Arabia before Islam.

In an article which has appeared since I wrote this chapter, F. Krenkow ("The Annual Fairs of the Pagan Arabs," *Islamic Culture*, XXI [Hyderabad, 1947], 111–13), drew attention to very early versions of this passage which I am not able to consult at present. An article however in *Al-Rābiṭat al-'Alawīya,* I, III (Batavia, 1347 H.), 121, entitled "Li 'l-Tārīkh" mentions this itinerary without citing sources. Here Dabā is substituted for Iram, and the author stated that after visiting Aden, the traders went to Al-Rābiya in Hadramaut. Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb, *Al-Muḥabbar* (Hyderabad, 1942), 265-6, alludes to Dabā and Ṣuḥār, both of Oman and known today.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTE II

Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.,* V, 45, spoke of a pre-Islamic king of the Yemen who reigned in his capital of San'a, anterior to the Sasanid monarch Sābūr Dhu 'l-Aktāf (Shāpūr II, 310–79 A.D.). He said this was the first Yemenite king to raid Rūm and to introduce silk (ḥarīr) and brocade (dībādj) to the Yemen. Is this a faint and distorted recollection of the expedition of Aelius Gallus?

[1] See Chapter I.

[2] Egyptian textiles for the reign of Harun al-Rashid are known, and the list of dated Egypto-Arabic textiles in J. M. Upton's "Dated Egypto-Arabic Textiles in the Metropolitan Museum of Arts," *Metropolitan Mus. Studies,* III (1930–31), 158–73, should be consulted.

[3] *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857–61), I, 182 (Azraḳī).

[4] *Op. cit.,* p. 178.

> covered with red Khurāsānī brocade on which there were rings (? dārāt) with "Ḥamd Allāh wa-tasbīḥuhu wa-ta'ẓīmuhu" written therein. Thus it remained until the following year.[5]

This passage raises some difficulties, always supposing that the reading of the text is correct.[6] Perhaps he calls this Coptic cloth Khurāsānī because he was thinking of the plain white cloth of Merv.

Taghrībirdī [7] stated that in the eleventh year of his reign (396 H. [1006 A.D.]) al-Ḥākim, the Fatimid ruler of Egypt covered the Kaaba with white Ḳubāṭī. It was generally from the Tinnīs-Damietta group of factories that the Kaaba-covers (kiswa) were supplied, and even as late as this, their manufactures were known by this name. By Ḳubāṭī, then, can be understood a white linen cloth from Tinnīs, Shatā, and Dabḳū (which I have assumed is the same place as Dabḳā and Dabīḳ), Tūna, Dumaira,[8] or Dīfū, and others of lesser note, not even mentioned by these authors; and these linens were sometimes brocaded. Both Shaṭā and Dabḳū were textile centers in Byzantine times.

The passage of Djāḥiẓ in the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* [9] which implies that there were ṭirāz factories in Egypt as early as Omar, the second caliph, seems anachronistic, but Egyptian fabrics were used by the Umayyad caliphs, for 'Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān said one day to his companions: "What napkins are the noblest kind?" Someone said: "The napkins (mandīl) of Miṣr which are like the white skin inside eggshells." Others said: "The napkins of Yemen which are like the blossoms of Spring." [10] It is probable that the Umayyads were sent these Egyptian stuffs with the tribute, for Balādhurī [11] noted that the inhabitants of Miṣr (Egypt) were required to supply the Muslims with a woolen upper gown (djubba ṣūf), an upper cloak (burnus) or turban ('imāma), trousers (sarāwīl), and a pair of shoes a year. Instead of the djubba, a Coptic garment (Ḳibṭī) might be provided. Von Falke, too, discussed Byzantine institutions in this part of the world, with some resemblance to the ṭirāz system, and a Coptic textile from Dabīḳ has been found by archeologists.

In the *Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra*, Djāḥiẓ [12] merely said: "From Egypt come well-paced asses, fine garments, paper (ḳirṭās), balm oil, and, from al-Ma'dan (the mine), splendid topaz." He thought that "the best robes (aksiya) are of Egyptian wool." Egyptian cloaks are mentioned by Ibn al-Faḳīh [13] among other precious articles which merchants used in trade. Miskawaihī [14] talked of a "djubba of Egyptian wool" (317 H. [929 A.D.]), and in 355 H. (966 A.D.) he mentioned a caravan carrying 1,500 bales of bro-

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[5] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 270.

[6] Possibly, Khusrawānī should be read for Khurāsānī, though this reading is borne out by the quotation from Azraḳī translated in Appendix II.

[7] Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī, "Abu 'l-Maḥāsin ibn Taghrībirdī's Annals, al-Nudjūm al-Ẓāhira," ed. W. Popper, *Univ. Calif. Publ. Semitic Philol.*, II (1909), 100.

[8] For the pronunciation of this name see *Encyl. Islām* (Leyden, 1913-38), IV, 785–93.

[9] See Chapter I.

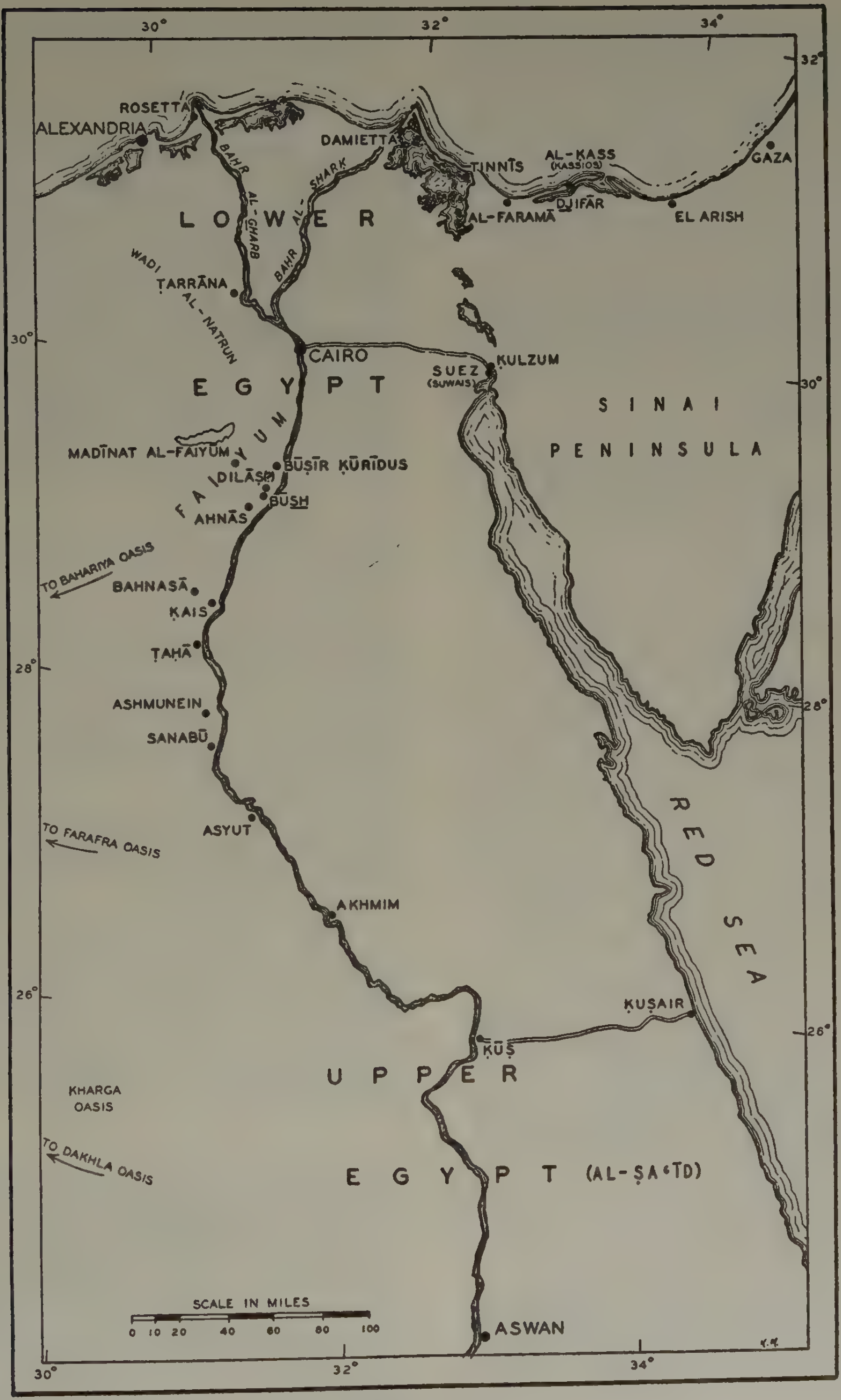
[10] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1285 H. [1868–9 A.D.]), XVIII, 164, Cf. *ibid.*, XX, 50. See also E. W. Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon* (London, 1863–93), I, V, 2020, عرقى

[11] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), p. 215, trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 338. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]).

[12] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Ḥasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Revue de l'acad. arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 342 and 337.

[13] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1885), V, 50.

[14] Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate*, ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), text, I, 197, trans., IV, 221.


30°
32°
34°
32°
30°
28°
26°
ROSETTA
ALEXANDRIA
DAMIETTA
BAHR AL-GHARB
BAHR AL-SHARK
TINNĪS
AL-KASS
(KASSIOS)
GAZA
DJIFĀR
AL-FARAMĀ
EL ARISH
LOWER
EGYPT
WADI AL-NATRUN
ṬARRĀNA
CAIRO
SUEZ
(SUWAIS)
ḲULZUM
SINAI
PENINSULA
MADĪNAT AL-FAIYUM
FAIYUM
BŪṢĪR ḲŪRĪDUS
DILĀṢ
BUSH
AHNĀS
TO BAHARIYA OASIS
BAHNASĀ
ḲAIS
ṬAḤĀ
ASHMUNEIN
SANABŪ
ASYUT
TO FARAFRA OASIS
AKHMIM
RED SEA
ḲUṢAIR
ḲŪṢ
UPPER
EGYPT
(AL-ṢAʿĪD)
KHARGA OASIS
TO DAKHLA OASIS
SCALE IN MILES
0 10 20 40 60 80 100
ASWAN
30°
32°
34°

Map 12 Egypt

caded linen (diḳḳ) to Mecca, the name of the fabric being the same as that which is said to have been produced in Egypt in Omar's time.[15] Again, a cadi of Baghdad (385 H. [995 A.D.]) had a thousand garments of Egyptian wool (ṣūf al-Miṣr).[16]

The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*[17] gives the following list of products:

> It produces textiles (djāma), handkerchiefs (dastār), and robes (ridā') of various kinds, than which there are none more precious in the whole world—such as Egyptian woolen goods and textiles and handkerchiefs made of Dabīḳī (and?) khazz-silk.

The fine linen known as ḳaṣab is quoted by Thaʿālibī[18] in a list of precious stuffs enumerated by a wit at the court of ʿAdud al-Dawla.

Part I

THE TINNĪS–DAMIETTA GROUP

An early notice of a Dabīḳī napkin is to be found in the *Aghānī* under the biography of Isḥāḳ al-Mawṣilī, the well-known singer who was a favorite of Ma'mūn;[19] the same singer found al-Muʿtaṣim wearing a Dabīḳī shirt (ḳamīs) which looked as if it had been cut out of the planet Venus.[20] A record contemporary with Ma'mūn of conditions among the workers in Tinnīs,[21] as witnessed by the Christian patriarch Dionysius when on a visit to Egypt about the year 200 H. (815 A.D.), states:

> Although Tinnīs has a considerable population and numerous churches, we have never witnessed greater distress than that of its inhabitants. When we enquired into the cause of it, they replied: "Our town is encompassed by water. We can neither look forward to a harvest nor can we maintain a flock. Our drinking water comes from afar and costs us four dirhams a pitcher. Our work is in the manufacture of linen which our women spin and we weave. We get from the dealers half a dirham per day. Although our earning is not sufficient for the bread of our mouths we are taxed for tribute and pay five dinars a head in taxes. They beat us, imprison us, and compel us to give our sons and daughters as securities. For every dinar they have to work two years as slaves.

This passage doubtless refers to the hard conditions which were imposed by the ṭirāz system on weavers—a kind of corvée it would seem, according to Nāṣir-i-Khusraw and others.[22] It is a curious omission on the part of the *Djirāb al-Dawla* that no textiles are given as coming from Egypt to the caliphs in Baghdad along with the tribute. The ṭirāz factories there may have been the private property of the Abbasid monarchs and never have been reckoned as state revenue-producing concerns.

Abu 'l-Ḳāsim[23] declared to the Iṣfahānis:

> By Allah, I do not see a garment of red (shuḳairī) Dabīḳī, nor one of Dabḳāwī[24] . . . nor garments of ḳaṣab of Samannūd (?), Damsīs (?), Tinnīs and Damietta . . . nor yet ʿAttābī Dabīḳī with borders embroidered with gold (muʿlam muthaḳḳal), on the body of a single one of you.

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[15] *Ibid.*, text, II, 215, trans., V, 228. This is not a very common word. See Chapter I, footnote 16, and R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed.; Paris, 1927), and the glossary to the *B.G.A.*

[16] *Op. cit.*, text, II, 262, trans., VI, 278.

[17] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 151.

[18] Thaʿālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Maʿārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1876), p. 132.

[19] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *op. cit.*, V, 424.

[20] *Ibid.*, V, 345.

[21] J. B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien . . . 1166–1199* (Paris, 1899), trans., III, 63. (Reference from A. Mez, *The Renaissance of Islam*, trans. by Salahuddin Khuda Bukhsh and D. S. Margoliouth [London, 1937]).

[22] See Chapter II and the passage quoted from the *Safar-nāma* of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *infra.*

[23] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 35.

[24] From Dabḳā. Samannūd and Damsīs are conjectural emendations for the unknown words سموت and دسيس . Both of these Egyptian cities were noted for their manufacture of linen. The explanation of the term ʿAttābī Dabīḳī has been attempted in Chapter II, ii, footnote 54.

Gold-embroidered pillows (makhādd) were not to be seen in the furnishings of their houses. Speaking of Baghdad, the same author noted:

> The people wash their hands and he hands them a napkin (mandīl) of Mutawakkilī (that is, after the style of the Caliph Mutawakkil's fabrics—a mulḥam stuff ?), Dabīḳī of a velvet texture (mukhmal), which is light and embroidered with a ṭirāz border of Egyptian manufacture, with two ornamented borders ('alam), and two bands (zunnār), and two patterns of fine thread (daḳīḳ al-silk) of perfect length and lovely width, short of pile, bordered with a fringed (? mashḳūḳ) border, softer than ḳazz silk and pleasanter to the touch than khazz silk—such are the attributes of the tables of Iraq, none of which, by Allah, do I see with you.[25]

These two passages if we are to consider the rhetoric of the satirist seriously would indicate that the Egyptian fabrics were little imported into Persia.

The Abbasid caliphs made considerable use of these Dabīḳī materials. Mas'ūdī [26] stated that Mu'taḍid (279–89 H. [892–902 A.D.]) "ordered the keepers of his wardrobe (khuzzān) to choose the best of the Sūs and Dabīḳī stuffs so as to keep them aside for himself." Al-Muḳtafī, his successor, is noted by Usāma ibn Munḳidh [27] as wearing a Damietta garment. Al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi' wrote of a table covered with Dabīḳī at one of Ibn Furāt's social gatherings (*ca.* 300 H. [912 A.D.]) [28] and again, in the vizierate of Ali ibn 'Īsā, he mentioned a precious red (shuḳairī) Dabīḳī shirt.[29] The material seems to have been used for all kinds of furnishings. Al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī [30] spoke of Baghdad pleasure boats which were decked out with embroidered Dabīḳī (Dabīḳī muṭarraz) with awnings of gold-embroidered Dabīḳī (aghshiyatuhā Dabīḳī mudhhab) in the year 305 H. (917 A.D.). He also mentioned an ebony throne upholstered (farasha) with Dabīḳī, embroidered with gold (muṭarraz bi 'l-dhahab).[31]

Tanūkhī [32] gave an example of another of the many uses to which the Dabīḳī cloth was put. A man who had dealings with Muḳtadir's mother, said:

> I used to buy for her Dabīḳī cloth called sandal cloth because it was close-woven (or coarse) and cut in sizes like sandals made by a cobbler, and then steeped in musk and molten ambergris, and when hardened, was inserted between two layers of stuff in quantities sufficient to sustain it. We used to fabricate numerous pieces of this sort and pack them together and then gum them together with pieces of ambergris, and stick them together so that they become one piece. We used to make the first layer white and polished and sew silk around, and furnish it with straps like the straps which are plaited out of leather . . . he added that the queen mother's sandals were of this material and that she never wore a pair more than ten days or thereabout, by which time it would show signs of wear and begin to crumble, meaning the loss of several dinars which it had cost. When cast off by the queen mother it would be taken by the keepers or others who would extract the musk and ambergris and appropriate them.

Tanūkhī [33] noted that a certain man of Baghdad had so many clothes that each kind required a number of boxes, for example, the Dabīḳī shirts (durrā'a) were kept separate from those of brocade. This author also mentioned "a Dabīḳī robe of Shustar costing two hundred dinars." [34] If the term is not one of mere loose application, it would seem that this type of manufacture had even established itself in Khuzistan (*ca.* 327–84 H. [929–94 A.D.]).

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[25] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

[26] Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), VIII, 115.

[27] Balādhurī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 173, trans., I, 205.

[28] Al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Kitāb al-Wuzarā'*, ed. H. F. Amedroz (Leyden, 1904), p. 240.

[29] *Op. cit.*, p. 327.

[30] G. Salmon, *L'Introduction topographique à l'histoire de Bagdadh d'Aboû Bakr Aḥmad ibn Thâbit al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdâdhī* (Paris, 1904), text, p. 53, trans., p. 138.

[31] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 55., trans., p. 140.

[32] Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥāḍara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth (London, 1921), text, p. 143. ff., trans., pp. 156–57.

[33] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 190, trans., p. 208.

[34] *Op. cit.*, text, p. 29, trans., p. 31.

The *Fihrist*[35] under the name Ḳurra ibn Ḳ mīṭā al-Ḥarrānī records that "this person made a map (ṣifa) of the world and Thābit ibn Ḳurra al-Ḥarrānī copied it. I have seen this map on cloth of raw Dabīḳī (thiyāb Dabīḳī khām) in color (iṣbāgh), the dye having been waxed." This evidently refers to the process of dyeing with wax which has been studied by Pfister in textiles from Egypt of an early period. The technique may be connected with that of early Egyptian portraits of the Ptolemaic dynasty painted by the encaustic process. The *Fihrist* was written in 378 H. (988 A.D.).

In recording the events of the year 379 H. (989 A.D.), Miskawaihī[36] described a barge carpeted with Dabīḳī, above which there was embroidered red cloth of brocade (miḳrama dībādj ḥamrā' manḳūsha), whereas the saloon was carpeted with yellow brocade and covered with embroidered Dabīḳī (miḳrama Dabīḳīya). Ibn Khallikān[37] related that al-Afḍal Shāhanshāh, who died in the year 488 H. (1095 A.D.), left, among other things, 500 chests of royal clothing (kiswa li 'l-khāṣṣa), consisting of the brocade (diḳḳ) of Tinnīs and Damietta.

The *Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* (written before 570 H. [1175 A.D.]) has a special notice devoted to those two fabrics:

> *Dabīḳī and Sharb*
>
> People's tastes vary in regard to the ṭirāz borders and the ornamented embroideries (ruḳūm, inscriptions ?), but they are agreed in the preference of that which is of the finest thread, and closest of weave, of the purest white, of the best workmanship, red, and golden; and, where Dabīḳī is concerned, whatever is beautiful even if raw (khām); but when it is compressed[38] it is not esteemed.
>
> Merchants make mistakes about this kind of cloth, so that it is necessary, where that is concerned, to refer back to the knowledge of the country where it is manufactured, for it (the country) is well known to people of experience. These descriptions will allow us to dispense with describing linen cloth, both the raw (or unbleached khām), and the compressed kinds, for the praiseworthy qualities of both are the same.[39]

THE GEOGRAPHERS

A continuous series of records of the manufacturers of Tinnīs and Damietta is preserved by the geographers. Ya'ḳūbī (278 H. [891 A.D.]) said:

> Tinnīs is an ancient city in which valuable garments of Dabīḳī and ḳaṣab (linen) are made, of close texture and fine, as well as striped cloaks (burūd) and stuffs of a velvet texture (mukhmal), figured stuffs (washī), and other kinds of cloth. It has a port for ships coming from Syria and the Maghreb. Then there is the town of Shaṭā which is on the seacoast, and the Shaṭawī garments are made there. Then comes the town of Damietta in which garments and sharb-linen and ḳaṣab cloths are made; then comes Būra where cloth and paper (ḳarāṭīs) are manufactured.[40]

Ibn Rusta[41] merely mentioned Tinnīs as an island where splendid cloth is made. Ibn al-

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[35] Ibn al-Nadīm, *Kitāb al-Fihrist*, ed. G. Flügel and J. Roediger (Leipzig, 1871–72), I, 285.

[36] Miskawaihī, *op. cit.*, text, III, 152, trans., VI, 160.

[37] *Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary*, trans. by M. de Slane (Paris-London, 1843–71), I, 614. *Dictionnaire biographique d'Ibn Khallikan, texte arabe* (Paris, 1838), p. 313.

[38] Reading ma'ṣūr for the maḳṣūr of the text. Cf. al-Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *op. cit.*, p. 240, and other places. The precise significance of this fairly common word is uncertain.

[39] Dja'far ibn Ali al-Dimashḳī, *al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900 A.D.]), p. 26. For the date of this work, see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar–Berlin, 1898–1902), Suppl. Bd. (Leyden, 1937–39), I, 907, and *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisba* of Ibn *al-Ukhuwwa*, ed. R. Levy, Gibb Memorial Ser. (=G.M.S.), n.s., XII, xv. ff.

[40] Ya'ḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān, B.G.A.*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1892), VII, 337.

[41] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-A'lāḳ al-Nafīsa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), III, 90.

Faḳīh [42] stated that Egypt was specially noted for its cloth above all other articles: "They have Dabīḳī and Shaṭawī cloth, ḳaṣab, linen of the gold-embroidered (mawzūn) and plain (muyassar) kinds, and other varieties of linen robes and wool [43] . . . and Tinnīs and Alexandrine stuffs." Masʿūdī [44] compared a miṭraf of red khazz silk to Dabīḳī stuffs.

Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi said: "Tinnīs garments are called after it. It has a ṭirāz factory belonging to the caliph. Dabīḳ has Dabīḳī stuffs called after it. Shaṭā has Shaṭawī stuff named after it." [45]

Iṣṭakhrī [46] merely said that Egyptian cloth is made in the cities of Tinnīs and Damietta (340 H. [951 A.D.]), but Ibn Ḥawḳal [47] related rather more:

> Among their large cities and native products peculiar to them alone, is that which is peculiar to Tinnīs and Damietta. They are two islands between the salt and the sweet water. . . . Fine linen (kattān) garments of sharb and Dabīḳī, dyed stuffs (muṣabbaghāt), consisting of Tinnīs striped cloaks (ḥulla) which nothing on earth can approach for price and beauty, softness and luxury, thinness and fineness, are to be found manufactured there. Sometimes a single cloak (ḥulla) of their cloth will fetch two hundred dinars when it contains gold. One without gold sometimes fetches a hundred dinars, more or less. Everything manufactured there is of linen, and sometimes the weight of a mithḳāl of its thread will fetch several dinars. Although Shaṭā, Dabḳuwā, Dumaira, and Tūna, and the adjoining islands have valuable articles of these kinds manufactured in them, yet those cannot approach the Tinnīsī, Dimyāṭī, and the Shaṭawī, a load of which, in our times, fetches from twenty thousand dinars to thirty thousand for the supply of Iraq.
>
> This has stopped through exactions (placed on the industry), and the person who was chiefly responsible for that was the cursed Abu 'l-Faradj ibn Killis, the vizier of al-ʿAzīz (365–86 H. [975–96 A.D.]), for he eradicated it by vexatious impositions, exactions, and continued severity on the workers so that he even put a tax on those entering and leaving Tinnīs. There is more than one fine ṭirāz factory in Egypt which will be mentioned in its place.

Of this vizier Maḳrīzī [48] said: "His position became so high that his name was written on the ṭirāz borders and in the books." This latter phrase almost certainly refers to the ṭirāz stamp on the papyrus. The same author noted: "In one day, the revenue of Tinnīs, Damietta, and Ashmunein was 220,000 dinars. This was unheard of in any other country, and continued until Muḥarram 365 H. (975 A.D.)."

Isḥāḳ ibn Ḥusain (*ca.* 340 H. [950 A.D.])[49] also knew of the ṭirāz factory belonging to the sultan in Tinnīs, where they make various valuable kinds of robes. Al-Kindī [50] said: "There is not a ṭirāz factory in the world of which a simple garment (thawb sādhidj) without any gold fetches a hundred dinars except the cloth of Tinnīs and Damietta. The Persian geographer of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* [51] noted "Tinnīs and Damietta . . . produce woolen and linen stuffs of very high price."

Maḳdisī (375 H. [985 A.D.]) described Tinnīs thus:

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[42] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *op. cit.*, p. 252.

[43] I suggest the renderings of "gold-embroidered and plain" for the above terms, equivalent to muthaḳḳal and sādhidj, which are to be found in later authors.

[44] Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, VII, 270.

[45] Ibn ʿAbd Rabbihi, *op. cit.*, IV., 268.

[46] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum* . . ., ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 50.

[47] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus geographicum*, ed J. H. Kramers (2d ed.; Leyden, 1938–39), p. 152 ff.

[48] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]), II, 6. See J. von Karabaček, "Zur Orientalischen Altertumskunde, I. Die arabischen Papyrusprotokolle," *Sitz. Ber. phil.-hist. Kl., Akad., Wien*, CLXI (1909), 25. A successor when designated, had his name placed on the textiles, robes of honor, and the papyrus rolls.

[49] Isḥāḳ b. al-Ḥusain, *Kitāb Ākām al-Mardjān*, ed. A. Codazzi, *Rend. d. r. accad. naz. dei Lincei*, ser. sesta, V (1929), 404.

[50] Al-Kindī, *Faḍā'il al-Miṣr*, extracts in Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta cartographica Aegypti et Africae*, III (Leyden, 1928), II, 638. The date is *ca.* 340 H. (950 A.D.)

[51] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, p. 151.

> It is Baghdad the lesser, a very mountain of gold, the emporium of the East and West. . . . Most of its inhabitants are Copts. . . . Cloth and colored cloaks (ridā') are made there. . . . Damietta possesses more skilled workmen, and more precious cloth than Tinnīs. . . . Shaṭā is inhabited by Copts, and the cloth is named after it. . . . From Tinnīs, but not Damietta come colored garments, and from Damietta linen (ḳaṣab). . . . Imposts are heavy (in Egypt), especially at Tinnīs, Damietta, and the Nile bank. Now, concerning Shaṭawī cloth, it is impossible for a Copt to weave any unless the stamp of the sultan has been placed upon it. Nor can it be sold except through the intermediary of brokers who have been entrusted with this function, and the sultan's officer writes down what has been sold in his notebook. Then it is taken to someone to wrap it up, then to another to be tied up in wrappings (ḳishr), then to another to be packed in chests (safaṭ), then to another to rope it, each of these men having a due to take. Then at the harbour gates a certain sum is taken. Each one writes his mark on the chest, and then the vessels are inspected at the time of sailing.[52]

There were similar dues to be paid at Alexandria on vessels. According to Maḳdisī again:

> At Jidda, on every chest of Shaṭawī three dinars are taken, and on every chest of Dabīḳī, two dinars, on every load of wool, two dinars. At 'Aththar, on every load, a dinar. . . . At Bāb Zabīd, on every load of cloth half a dinar.[53]

It is likely that these stuffs may have gone to Iraq by sea when the land route was perilous.

Benjamin of Tudela,[54] the well-known Jewish traveler of the time of Caliph al-Mustarshid, mentioned "Damietta, which is Caphtor, where there are about two hundred Jews." These Jews cannot have been dyers as they usually were in Muslim countries, for in Damietta we learn that no dyed stuffs were made, so they must have been traders or agents of some kind. It might be added here that Damietta was one of the ports of entry for Egypt and all the geographers notice the Frankish ships that used to come here to trade with the hinterland. Benjamin also mentioned that there were 700 Jews at Dumaira, who might have been engaged in this trade.[55]

The Syriac historian Bar Hebræus,[56] related that the Genoese in the year 1110 A.D. took from Arab ships which they captured, coming from Tinnīs and Damietta, "fifty loads of bales of Damietta cloth."

The well known passages from Nāṣir-i-Khusraw on the products of the Egyptian factories are really enlightening (438 H. [1047 A.D.]):

> Tinnīs makes colored ḳaṣab (rangīn) used for turbans, headdresses (wiḳāya), and women's clothing. Nowhere else is such fine ḳaṣab made as at Tinnīs. White ḳaṣab is made at Damietta; the ḳaṣab woven in the sultan's workshop (kārgāh) is neither sold nor given to anyone. I have heard that the ruler of Fars (one of the Buwaihids) had sent 20,000 dinars to Tinnīs to buy a complete set of royal robes (yak-dast djāma-yi-khāṣṣ). His agents stayed several years in the town without being able to manage this transaction. There are famous weavers there who weave the royal robes. I was told that one of them had woven a piece of cloth designed for the turban of the sultan (dastār). He received for this piece of work the sum of 500 Maghribī dinars. I have seen this turban. It is estimated to be worth 4,000 Maghribī dinars.
>
> It is at Tinnīs, and nowhere else that they make the stuff called Būḳalamūn, the color of which changes according to the different hours of the day. It is exported to the countries of the East and West. The Greek sultan, they say, sent a person to offer a hundred towns for Tinnīs. This was refused. His wish was to procure ḳaṣab and Būḳalamūn from it."[57]

The population of the town in his day was

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[52] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d. ed., 1906), III, 201 ff, 203, 213.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 104.

[54] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), trans., p. 77.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 74.

[56] E. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (Oxford, 1932), p. 244.

[57] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *Safar-nāma*, ed., and trans. by C. Schefer, *Relation du voyage de Nassiri Khosrau, Publ. de l'école des langues orientales vivantes* (=*P.E.L.O.V.*) (Paris, 1881), II sér., I, trans., pp. 110–13, text, p. 36 ff.

50,000 males, and a thousand boats lay always in the harbor, some belonging to merchants, but most belonged to the sultan. All the necessities had to be carried to it because it produced nothing. He continued:

> "The ḳaṣab and Būḳalamūn made for the sultan are paid for at their exact value; thus the workmen work willingly for him, as by contrast to the other countries where the government and the sovereign impose forced labor on the artisans. There are woven in Būḳalamūn the covers for litters (djāma-yi-ʿimārī) which are placed on camels and saddlecloths (namad-zīn) destined for the private use of the sultan. At Tinnīs iron objects are manufactured also. . . .

This Būḳalamūn stuff is mentioned by the earlier Djāḥiẓ:

> Abū Ḳalamūn is one of the crimson-colored, Greek, kingly textiles (zalālī Khusrawānī Rūmī ḳirmizī), with various lines (or striped khuṭūṭ, the reference here, in the light of Nāṣir-i-Khusraw doubtless, being to the lines of the warp and the woof). Violet (banafsadjī, thread) is crossed with red and green. They say that it changes its color with the ascendent of the day, and the glare of the sun. It is very expensive to buy.[58]

The name of this cloth might imply that it was introduced from the eastern provinces of the Byzantine empire in Sasanian times. The word itself, Būḳalamūn, is derived from the Greek,[59] and this crimson dye seems to have come from Armenia in particular. The name Khusrawānī seems to imply that this was one of the textiles used by the ancient Sasanian monarchs. Perhaps the material was manufactured in Persia by workmen who were transferred there by these sovereigns from the Armenian area. The stuff was also known to Masʿūdī [60] who compared it to the stone of the same name (jasper) which, he says, shows different colors, red, green, and yellow. The variation is due to the lustre of the jewel and the different aspects from which one perceives it. The varying colors in the jewel are like the colors of a peacock's feathers.

Perhaps Nāṣir was thinking of his native country Persia when he mentioned the forced labor of the artisans; this helps to throw some light on the regulations for the ṭirāz system there. This state of affairs is greatly different from the period of Dionysius. As Nāṣir did not remark that the weavers were Copts, it might be perhaps implied that they had become Muslims, and certainly the conversion would free them of the poll tax which had proved so burdensome in the second century.

Bakrī [61] (sixth century H. [eleventh century A.D.]) spoke of the island of Dabḳū, near Tinnīs, where they made Dabīḳī stuff. Idrīsī seems to have copied Ibn Ḥawḳal's account or his source:

> In Tinnīs and Damietta are stuffs made of Dabīḳī and sharb, as well as dyed stuffs (muṣabbaghāt) consisting of Tinnīs cloaks (ḥulla), which cannot be approached by anything in the whole world for beauty and value. A single garment when embroidered in gold is sometimes worth a thousand dinars, and a garment without gold is worth a hundred or two hundred or thereabout. The principal stuff (aṣl) in these robes is linen. As for those which are made at Shaṭā, Dabḳū, and Dumaira in the neighborhood of these islands, they are doubtless very fine, but they do not approach those of Tinnīs and Damietta. . . . As regards Damietta, it is a town built by the seashore, but at a certain distance away from the sea. They make wonderful stuffs and Dabīḳīya, and others which, for perfection of workmanship approach those of Tinnīs. . . .
>
> Dumaira [62] (in the district of Shirbīn) is a little town where they make pretty stuffs for export, and where there are a great many workmen and merchants.[63]

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[58] Djāḥiẓ, *op. cit.*, p. 337.

[59] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, I, 6 ff.

[60] Masʿūdī, *op. cit.*, II, 437 ff.

[61] al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, trans. by G. MacGuckin de Slane (Alger, 1913), p. 174, calls the material Dibekiya.

[62] For this vocalisation, Dumaira, see A. Grohman, "Ṭirāz," *Encyl. Islām*, IV, 785–93.

[63] Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne*,

He also mentioned a little town called Shirinḳās near there, which, he remarked, is commercial and industrial so it, too, probably made these stuffs:

> Maḥallat al-Dākhil and Dumaira where cloths of sharb are inscribed (rasama) are both cities in which there are private and public ṭirāz factories (ṭuruz li ʾl-khāṣṣa wa-li ʾl-ʿāmma).[64]

According to Maḳrīzī[65] Saladin, when he gained the mastery over Egypt, abolished the custom tax of Miṣr and Cairo and Cadi al-Fāḍil made out a new tariff for him which included among other taxes a "stamp-tax on fine linen (sharb) and Dabīḳī brocade" which brought in one thousand dinars.

Even in the troubled times of al-Malik al-ʿĀdil, Usāma ibn Munḳidh noted "a camel-load of Dabīḳī clothes, siḳlāṭūn, squirrel-furred material (musandjab), Dimyāṭī brocade, and turbans."[66] Aprostrophizing himself in his old age, he said:

> After being dressed in the coat of mail, I now dress in cloaks (ḥulla) of Dabīḳī fabric. Woe to me and the cloaks. Luxury has never been my ideal nor my desired goal.[66]

The above authors for the most part have been contemporary with the events which they describe, but later authors have incorporated material from writers whose works are now lost, and these accounts are rather earlier than some which have already been given. First among these must come Yāḳūt, throughout whose encyclopaedia are scattered references to the towns of this group:

> Dabḳā . . . It is one of the villages of Miṣr (Egypt) near Tinnīs to which the Dabīḳī garments, which are quite unparalleled, are ascribed. Thus says Ḥamza Iṣfahānī (*ob.* 350–60 H. [961–71 A.D.]), but I asked Egyptians about it and they said: "Dabīḳ is a village near Tinnīs, between it and al-Faramā, but it is ruined nowadays. . . .
>
> Dabīḳ (the modern Dabīdj ?) . . . A land which lay between al-Faramā and Tinnīs of the provinces of Egypt, after which Dabīḳī garments were named, but God alone knows."[67]

The other geographers up to Bakrī and Idrīsī (548 H. [1154 A.D.]) seem to have known the city, though Idrīsī is probably only following earlier sources. Still it is feasible to suppose that Dabḳā (with the variant forms of the name given in other writers) may have prospered up till the Crusade, in which Tinnīs was destroyed.

Yāḳūt said very little about Tinnīs, but he quoted al-Muhallabī (*fl. ca.* 365–86 H. [975–96 A.D.]):

> Conditions in it are the same as in Damietta, except that it is bigger and broader, and various colored cloths (thiyāb mulawwana), upholstery (or carpets), farsh, and Būḳalamūn are made there.[68]

This brevity is hardly surprising, since Tinnīs had been entirely destroyed in 588 H. (1192 A.D.) in face of the Frankish invasion:

> The town of Tinnīs was ordered to be evacuated, and the inhabitants to be transferred to Damietta. The trees of the gardens were to be cut, and the women taken

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ed. and trans. by R. P. A. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), text, p. 156. Cf. C. F. Seybold, *Ibn al Aṯîr's Kunja-Wörterbuch betitelt Kitâb al-muraṣṣaʿ* (Weimar, 1896), p. 175.

[64] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 159.

[65] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte,* trans. by U. Bouriant and P. Casanova (Paris, 1900–20), p. 298 ff., text (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]), I, 103 ff.

[66] Usāma ibn Munḳidh, *Usāmah's Memoirs Entitled Kitāb al-Iʿtibār,* ed P. K. Hitti (Princeton, 1930), pp. 35, 191. *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman,* trans. by P. K. Hitti (New York, 1929), pp. 10 ff. and 161.

[67] Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 546 and 548.

[68] *Op. cit.*, I, 882. Cf. Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 118.

out of it. Timmīs had no population left in it apart from a few soldiers.[69]

For Damietta, Yāḳūt again quoted al-Muhallabī:

> "It is noted for its good climate and its manufacture of fine sharb linen" . . . al-Ḥasan ibn Muhammad al-Muhallabī[70] said: "One of the curious things about Damietta and Tinnīs is that the weavers in them who make these fine garments, are Copts of the lowest, humblest, and meanest of people as regards food and drink. For the larger part of their diet consists of fresh salt fish, or evil-smelling Ṣīr fish, and most of them eat without washing their hands (afterward), then return to those valuable and highly esteemed garments and set to work at weaving them. Then the garment is cut (from the loom), and the person who handles it has not the slightest doubt but that it has been perfumed with nadd scent. Another curious thing about Damietta, he said, is that on the east (ḳiblī) side upon the canal is a place used for the preparation of leather, known as the "factories" (ma'āmil), which is let for the manufacture of cloth of sharb, and it is hardly possible that they can be of a good kind except they come from there. Should a span[71] (shibr) be left over and taken to other factories, the broker purchasing the garment is aware of it, and the price of it is lowered because of the difference of the quality of the cloth.[72]

Ibn Zawlāḳ (before 387 H. [997 A.D.]) said:

> Balkhī ḳaṣab of every kind, and sharb are made in Damietta, in none of which manufacture does Tinnīs share, although there is only half a day's journey between the two. A white garment without any gold in it, in Damietta fetches the price of three hundred dinars. No dyed material is made in Damietta, and no white stuff in Tinnīs. . . . Some of the chief and most reliable merchants told me that in the year 398 H. (1007–8 A.D.), two Damietta cloaks (ḥulla) were sold for three thousand dinars. The like of this has never been heard in any country. In it are made Ḳalamūnī (Abūḳalamūn) furnishings (farsh) of every kind, with borders (or badges, mu'allam), and embroidered with a ṭirāz border (muṭarraz), and towels for the body and hands (minshafa). They are treasured by all the kings of the earth.
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> Shaṭawī garments are called after it (Shaṭā). . . . al-Muhallabī said: "In Shaṭā and Damietta are made the precious garments, a single one of which, without any gold in it, fetches a thousand dirhams."[73]
>
> Tūna. . . . It is proverbial for its cloth manufacture and for its ṭirāz factories.[74]
>
> Biyawrnabāra. . . . In it is made excellent, surpassingly good wide sharāb.[75]
>
> Abwān. . . . Its inhabitants were Christians; surpassingly good sharb which is called after it was made there.[76]

The *Marāṣid*[77] describes it as "a town which was near Damietta, and the people of which were Christians; valuable sharb was made there and called Būnī after it."

Mustawfī[78] followed older accounts: "The isle of Tinnīs . . . The people weave fine brocades, and the Greek brocades are mostly from Tinnīs. The population live on milk and fish."

It is, however, in the immense work of Maḳrīzī that one finds most information about textile manufactures in Egypt, embedded in much other archaeological information. Maḳrīzī drew on a number of different sources. Quoting no authority he said of Dabīḳ:

> Dabīḳ is one of the villages which depended on Damietta. There used to be made there stuffs embroidered with gold (muthaḳḳal), turbans of dyed sharb linen,

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[69] Maḳrīzī, "Histoire d'Égypte de Maḳrīzī," trans. by E. Blochet, *Revue de l' Orient Latin*, VIII (1900–1901), 213. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique* . . ., p. 517.

[70] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, II, 602.

[71] Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, II, 129.

[72] This measure is the space between the thumb and little finger when fully extended.

[73] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 288.

[74] *Ibid.*, I, 901.

[75] *Ibid.*, I, 804.

[76] *Ibid.*, I, 101.

[77] Yāḳūt, *Lexicon geographicum cui titulus est Marāṣid al-Iṭṭilā'*, ed. T. G. J. Juynboll and J. J. B. Gaal (Leyden, 1850–64), I, 18.

[78] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb*, trans. by G. le Strange, G.M.S. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 230.

and Dabīḳī stuffs with borders (or badges, 'alam) ornamented with gold. It was also there that they made turbans of linen with gold thread, each one being a hundred dhirā' in length, and having embroideries (raḳamāt) woven with gold. The amount of gold contained in a turban was worth five hundred dinars apart from the cost of the silk (ḥarīr) and thread. These turbans as well as other stuffs were introduced in the time of al-'Azīz bi'llāh ibn al-Mu'izz in the year 365 H. (975–76 A.D.) and used until the death of the prince in Sha'bān of the year 385 H. (995 A.D.).[79]

Of Tinnīs, he [80] said:

Tinnīs was a large town in which there were a great many remains of the ancients. The inhabitants were rich and opulent, most of them being weavers. At Tinnīs they wove linen sharb cloths such as were woven nowhere else in the world, and they used to make for the caliph a garment called badana (a kind of tunic) [81] into the composition of which the only thread introduced for the warp and woof was two ounces (ūḳīya); the rest of the stuff was woven with gold, made with perfect workmanship, and with no need to be cut or sewn. The value of the robe reached a thousand dinars. There was no ṭirāz factory for linen in the whole world where a robe of simple linen and no gold fetched a hundred dinars of money, except at Tinnīs and Damietta.

At Shaṭā, Dīfū, Dumaira, Tūna, and the neighboring islands, they used to make fine cloth, but it could not compare with that of Tinnīs and Damietta. Every year the export of these stuffs to Iraq produced, until after the year 360 H. (970–1 A.D.), from twenty thousand to thirty thousand dinars. When the vizier Ya'ḳūb ibn Killis was made inspector of finances, he destroyed this industry by his vexatious taxations. Christians under protection used to live at Tinnīs and Damietta.[82]

In Shawwāl of the year 624 H. (1227 A.D.), al-Malik al-Kāmil ordered the town of Tinnīs to be destroyed. It was one of the most considerable cities in which princely cloth, and the covering of the Kaaba were woven.[83]

Al-Fākihī, in his *Akhbār Makka* ("History of Mecca") said: "I have seen on that part of the Kaaba which is next to the west corner, a covering (kiswa) which had inscribed on the upper part: "One of the things ordered by al-Sarī ibn al-Ḥākim, and 'Abd al-'Azīz ibn al-Wazīr al-Djarawī, by the command of al-Faḍl ibn Sahl Dhu 'l-Riyāsatain, and Ṭāhir ibn al-Ḥusain. Year 197 H. (812–13 A.D.)." I have also seen a piece of the Ḳubāṭī of Egypt (Miṣr) in the midst of it (the covering ?) except that they had written with a thin black line at the corners of the Temple: "One of the things which the Commander of the Faithful al-Ma'mūn ordered. Year 206 H. (821–22 A.D.)." I have also seen one of Mahdī's coverings upon which was written: "In the name of God. Blessings from God upon Abdallah al-Mahdī Muḥammad, the Commander of the Faithful. May God prolong his existence. One of the things which Isma'īl ibn Ibrāhīm ordered to be made in the ṭirāz factory of Tinnīs, by the hand of al-Ḥakam ibn 'Ubaid, year 162 H. (778–79 A.D.)." I have seen yet another covering of Ḳubāṭī of Egypt on which was inscribed: "In the name of God. The blessing of God. One of the things that Abdallah al-Mahdī Muḥammad, the Commander of the Faithful ordered, God preserve him. Muḥammad ibn Sulaimān (ordered) that the covering of the Kaaba should be made in the ṭirāz factory at Tinnīs, by the hand of al-Khaṭṭāb ibn Maslama, his agent, year 159 H. (775–76 A.D.)."

Al-Masīḥī recorded under the events of the year 384 H. (994–95 A.D.):

In Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da there arrived from Tinnīs, Damietta, and al-Faramā, Yaḥyā ibn al-Yamān, with presents, composed of chests (safaṭ), wardrobes (takht), and boxes (ṣundūḳ) full of money, horses, mules, asses, three umbrellas (maẓāll, "ceremonial umbrellas"), and two coverings for the Kaaba.

In Dhu 'l-Ḥidjdja of the year 402 H. (1012 A.D.) there arrived the present sent every year by the town of Tinnīs which was composed of five camels with their trappings, a hundred head of horses with their saddles and bridles, coats of mail, and manufactured articles, three Dabīḳī tents with their divans, standards, and all the precious furniture and stuffs the town usually gave.

Of Tūna, he [84] said:

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[79] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ, Description topographique . . .*, p. 667; *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 226.

[80] *Ibid.*, p. 507.

[81] See the "Glossary" to the *B.G.A.* for this word, and also, Dozy, *op. cit.*, and *Fragmenta historicorum arabicorum*, ed. P. de Jong and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1869–71), 366, where it is said to have been interwoven with pearls and embroidered with precious jewels.

[82] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 176, trans., p. 508.

[83] *Ibid.*, text, I, 181, trans., p. 517.

[84] *Ibid.*, text, I, 181, trans., p. 519.

> Among the dependencies of the province of Tinnīs was a village called Tūna where there was made embroidered stuff (ṭirāz) of Tinnīs and where, sometimes, the covering of the Kaaba was made. Al-Fākihī said: "I have seen also a covering given by Harun al-Rashid, made of Ḳubāṭī of Egypt, and bearing the inscription: 'In the name of God. May the blessing of God be on the Caliph al-Rashid Abdallah Harun, Commander of the Faithful. May God be generous to him. One of the things which al-Faḍl ibn Rabīʿ ordered to be made in the ṭirāz factory of Tūna in the year 190 H. (805-6 (A.D.).

Of Shaṭā, he[85] said:

> It is at Shaṭā that the covering for the Kaaba used to be made. I have seen, says al-Fākihī, one of the coverings of the Commander of the Faithful, Harun al-Rashid, of Ḳubāṭī stuff of Egypt, bearing the inscription on the upper part: In the name of God. God bless Abdallah Harun, Commander of the Faithful. This is one of the things which al-Faḍl ibn Rabīʿ, client of the Commander of the Faithful ordered to be made in the ṭirāz factory of Shaṭā. A covering for the Kaaba. 190 H. (805–6 A.D.).

Ibn Duḳmāḳ, the contemporary of Maḳrīzī, quoting one of his sources on the ṭirāz factory at Tinnīs and Damietta, said:

> In Tinnīs and Damietta valuable cloth used to be made, and though Shaṭā, Dabīḳ, Dumaira, Tūna, and the adjoining islands used to make this valuable cloth, they did not come anywhere near the Tinnīs, Damietta, and Shaṭā kinds. Every year, stuff to the value of twenty thousand to thirty thousand dinars was despatched to Iraq. The vizier Abu 'l-Faradj Yaʿḳūb ibn Killis, and the vizier al-ʿAzīz bi-'llāh al-ʿAlawī al-ʿUbaidī (the Fatimid) put an end to this by exactions. The second Tinnīs, however, continued to be inhabited until the Sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil Muḥammad ibn Abī Bakr ibn Ayyūb abandoned it in Shawwāl of the year 624 H. (1227 A.D.) from fear that the Franks might get possession of it. . . . In the towns of Tinnīs and Damietta there used to be made the precious garments of linen (sharb), muḳaṣṣab stuffs (of linen), Tinnīsī, and Dabīḳī which nothing in the world can approach in beauty and costliness. Sometimes a single garment of this cloth, when embroidered in gold (mudhahhab) can fetch the price of a thousand dinars or thereabout. That which does not fetch the price of a hundred or two dinars, or thereabouts, has a basis (aṣl) of linen.[86]

Part II

ALEXANDRIA AND CAIRO

The two capital cities of Egypt each possessed a state factory but, considering their importance, we have remarkably little literary evidence of their activities, though the *Répertoire chronologique* contains many examples of their inscribed textiles.

Alexandria was celebrated in the Roman era as a center of weaving, and this industry continued unabated into Islamic times. The uninterrupted trade in silk with the Byzantine empire is described by von Falke,[87] and it seems to have taken place with the churches, mainly, during the eighth and ninth centuries of Christendom. This great city also supplied the Maghreb, Spain, and North Africa with costly wares; Even India imported cloth from it. Ḳalḳashandī[88] stated:

> One of the royal appurtenances is the embroidery (naḳsh) of the sultan's name on clothing (kuswa) which is woven and inscribed (marḳūm), and the embroidered borders (ṭirāz) made of silk (ḥarīr) or gold, with a color different from the cloth (on which it was embroidered), or the ṭirāz borders, in order that the royal garments and embroideries (ṭirāz) may be distinguished from others, to draw attention to the power of its royal owner or that of the person whom he so honors by the investiture, from friendship, or by way of payment, or as a gift, etc. For this purpose there is a special establishment (dār) for its manufacture at Alexandria, known as the dār al-ṭirāz. The Caliphs of both the Umayyads and the Abbasids followed this custom when the Caliphate was in existence.

In the second century, about the time of

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[85] *Ibid.*, text, I, 226, trans., p. 666.

[86] Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Égypte*, ed. by C. Vollers (Cairo, 1893), II, 79. This authority is al-Ḥāfiẓ Djamāl al-Dīn al-Yaghmūrī (*ob.* 673 H. [1274–75 A.D.]).

[87] O. von Falke, *Decorative Silks* (3d ed.; London, 1936), p. 7.

[88] Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* (Cairo, 1331–18 H. [1913–19 A.D.]), IV, 7.

Harun al-Rashid, the philologist al-Aṣmaʿī described certain verses as "khusrawānī brocade and Alexandrine figured stuff (washī)" [89] and Djāḥiẓ [90] related that "the best kind of figured stuff (washī) is the Sābirī and the Kufic variety, and the ibrīsm silk kind, and the gold-woven kind, then Alexandrine figured washī stuff of pure linen." The *Kitāb al-Muwashshā* [91] lists Iskandarī among the clothes worn by the man of fashion in the third century of the Muslim age. Ibn al-Faḳīh [92] too mentioned Alexandrine cloth along with that of Tinnīs and Damietta which kinds, for the most part, they probably resembled.

Bakrī [93] recorded that the stuffs of Ṣafāḳus were manufactured like those of Alexandria, which may indicate the cultural influence of this city extended westward into Africa. Benjamin of Tudela [94] found three hundred Jews in Alexandria, and he gave a long register of countries ranging from Scotland to India which had commercial relations with Alexandria, sending ships there. Each nation had an inn of its own. The *Chanson de Roland* (*ca.* 1066–99) [95] tells of a certain person *"ki fut cuvert d'un palie alexandrine."* There are doubtless other references in early mediaeval literature. Idrīsī [96] stated that the vessels which come from Alexandria to Ṭulmaitha bring cotton and linen stuffs.

In Fatimid times the factory flourished enormously, if one considers the passages which are quoted from Maḳrīzī on the authority of early and contemporary sources. It seems to have been one of the chief centers of their supplies and had of course a dār al-ṭirāz.[97] Examples of this cloth are listed in the *Répertoire chronologique* and in *Metropolitan Museum Studies.*

Abu 'l-Fidā' [98] said that al-Malik al-Nāṣir (Saladin) gave as presents rare articles of gold set with jewels, and splendid cloth of that which is made for the royal store (al-khāṣṣ al-sharīf) in the dār al-ṭirāz in Alexandria.

The Persian author Mustawfī [99] wrote: "They are of great fame here for their woven stuffs, and Alexandrine cloths are exported thence to all lands." During the whole period of Mameluke control of Egypt, it seems to have been famed for these wares, and the *Thousand and One Nights* commonly mentions Alexandrine and Baalbek stuffs together, and even talks of a hundred different kinds of white cloths of Egypt, silks of Suez, Kufa, Alexandria, and Greek carpets.[100]

According to Maḳrīzī:

> Among the stuffs woven at Alexandria is this linen cloth which is called sharb, one drachm of which is worth a dirham of silver, and those kinds of embroideries which are sold for several times their weight in silver.[101]

ʿUmarī (700–748 H. [1301–48 A.D.]), telling that the Africans (the Muslims) wear clothes of linen and cotton, mentioned that "those who wear elegant materials from Alexandria and Iraq are isolated individuals."[102] Again, he stated that the sultan of Morocco gave as robes of honor "a piece of cloth (sabnīya), that is a packet (buḳdja) of a stuff with designs of animals embroidered in gold made at Alexandria, which they call zardkhāna."[103] Further, he said that in India "the garments of linen which are brought from Alexandria, and the countries of the Russians (Rūs) are worn exclusively by those whom the sultan (of Delhi) honors with them."[104] Khazradjī recorded[105] that in 788 H. (1386 A.D.) presents came to the Rasūlid sultan of Yemen along with a party of the silk manufacturers ('ummāl al-ḥarīr) of Alexandria.

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[89] Abu 'l-Faradj al-Iṣfahānī, *Kitāb al-Aghānī* (Cairo, 1927–36), V, 318.

[90] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Ḥasan H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb. *Rev. de l'acad. arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 335.

[91] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā,* ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124.

[92] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 252.

[93] al-Bakrī, *op. cit.,* p. 47.

[94] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* p. 47.

[95] R. Hague, *The Song of Roland* (London, 1937), verse 35. Cf. verse 31.

[96] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 136.

[97] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* text, I, 415.

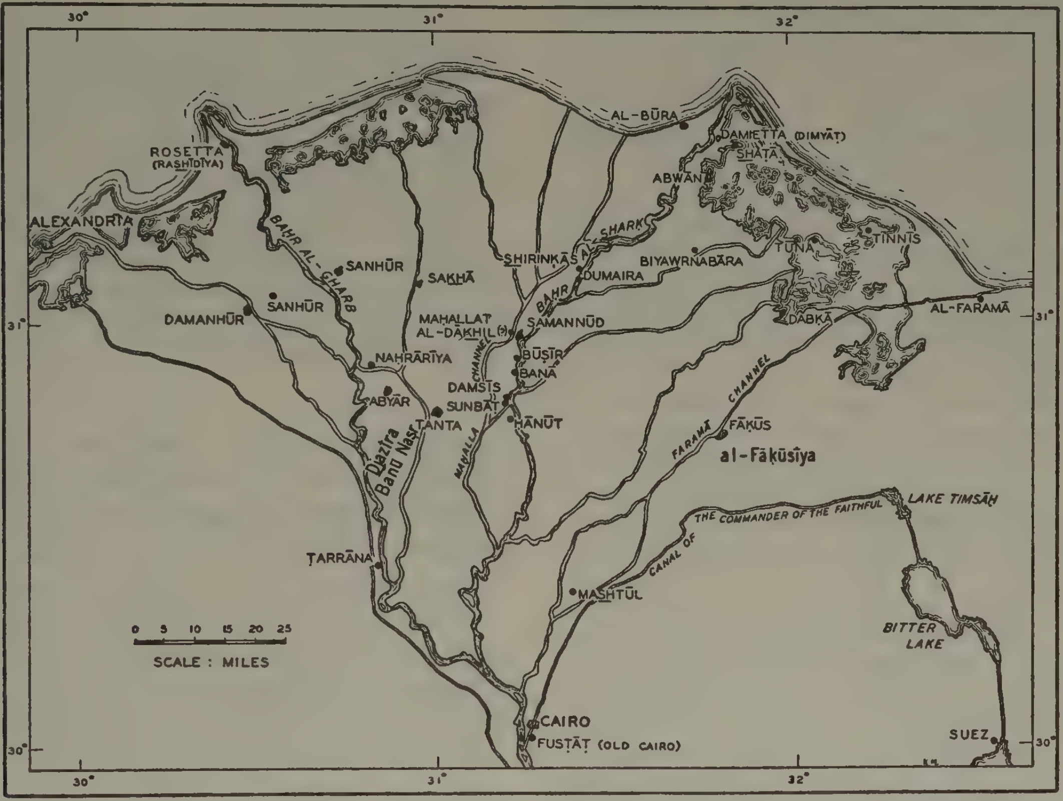
[98] Abu 'l-Fidā', *al-Mukhtaṣar fī Akhbār al-Bashar* (Istanbul, 1286 H. [1869–70 A.D.]), IV, 101.

[99] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. le Strange, G.M.S. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 239.

[100] *The Arabian Nights,* trans. by E. W. Lane (New York, 1927), p. 620.

[101] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ,* trans. p. 465.

Descriptions of the costume of the Mameluke generals and ministers of state have been left by Maḳrīzī. Among the textiles he noted that the emirs wore a cap (kalawta) of red wool of Malaṭīya, a city in the Armenian group:


30°
31°
32°
AL-BŪRA
DAMIETTA (DIMYĀṬ)
SHAṬA
ABWĀN
ROSETTA (RASHĪDIYA)
ALEXANDRIA
BAHR AL-GHARB
SANHŪR
SAKHĀ
SANHŪR
DAMANHŪR
SHIRINKĀS
SHARK
BIYAWRNABĀRA
DUMAIRA
TUNA
TINNIS
AL-FARAMĀ
DABKĀ
MAHALLAT AL-DAKHIL (?)
SAMANNŪD
BAHR
NAHRĀRĪYA
BŪṢĪR
BANĀ
DAMSĪS
ABYĀR
SUNBĀṬ
ṬANṬA
ḤĀNŪT
Djazīra Banū Naṣr
MAḤALLA CHANNEL
FARAMĀ CHANNEL
FĀḲŪS
al-Fāḳūsīya
LAKE TIMSĀḤ
CANAL OF THE COMMANDER OF THE FAITHFUL
ṬARRĀNA
MASHTŪL
BITTER LAKE
0 5 10 15 20 25
SCALE : MILES
CAIRO
FUSṬĀṬ (OLD CAIRO)
SUEZ

MAP 13—THE DELTA OF THE NILE

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[102] 'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār*, trans. by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, I, *L'Afrique moins l'Égypte, Bibliothèque des géographes arabes* (Paris, 1927), II, 127.

[103] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

[104] 'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār, Notice de l'ouvrage . . . Mesalek alabsar fi memalek alamsar*, by E. M. Quatremère, *Acad. des inscriptions et belles-lettres, Notices et extraits.* XIII, 1 (Paris, 1838), 200. Cf. p. 270.

[105] al-Khazradjī, J. W. Redhouse, and Muhammad 'Asal, *El-Khazreji's History of the Resúlí Dynasty of Yemen*, G.M.S. (London, 1906–13), III, trans., II, 164, text, II, 585. The following extract from Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d' Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery

The troops of the emirs and others used to wear various kinds of kamkhā (a Chinese silk[106]), Khaṭā'ī (Chinese stuff), kandjī (a stuff of silk and cotton[107]), and a velvety material (mukhmal), Iṣkandarī, linen (sharb), naṣāfī (a stuff made in Baghdad), and colored wools. Then the wearing of silk was declared unlawful in the days of al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ (784–807 H. [1382–98 A.D.]). To this day, they are confined to the wearing of colored wool in winter, and the wearing of light (maṣḳūl, lit. polished) naṣāfī in summer.[108]

In the days of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad ibn Ḳalāūn (*ca.* 679 H. [1280 A.D.]), the important emirs regularly received a robe of honor:

> [Consisting of] a kind of cloth called ṭardwaḥsh[109] made in the ṭirāz factory which was in Alexandria, Miṣr (Cairo) and Damascus. It was embroidered with bands (mudjawwakha djākhāt) which were inscribed with the titles of the sultan. It had bands (djākhāt) of tardwaḥsh, and bands of different colors intermingled with gold-spangled linen (ḳaṣab mudhahhab), these bands being separated by embroideries in color (nuḳūsh), and a ṭirāz border. This was made of ḳaṣab, but sometimes an important personage (among the officials) would have a ṭirāz border embroidered with gold (muzarkasha bi-dhahab) with a squirrel (sindjāb), and beaver (ḳundus) fur upon it, as mentioned above. Under the cloak (ḳabā') of ṭardwaḥsh, there was a cloak of muḳtariḥ, with hoods (ṭarḥa) of Alexandrine stuff, and a headdress (kalawta) of gold-embroidery (zarkash), with spurs, a turban (shāsh) as mentioned, and a waist-belt (ḥiyāṣa) of gold, sometimes with plaques (baikārīya) and sometimes without them.

Various kinds of stuffs embroidered with all kinds of animals are described under the section on the Fatimids. Perhaps, too, the *Thousand and One Nights* is describing a piece of ṭardwaḥsh in the following passage:

> He then unfolded the piece of linen, and lo, in it was the figure of a gazelle worked with silk and embroidered with red gold, and facing it was the figure of another gazelle worked with silver, and having upon its neck a ring of red gold, and three beads of silver.[110]

In the year 696 H. (1279 A.D.), Sultan al-Malik Manṣūr al-Dīn Manṣūrī forbade his subjects to wear headdresses (kalawta) of gold brocade, embroideries (ṭuruz) of the same stuff, and robes (ḳabā') of great price. This was an economy because of a famine in the land.[111]

Even later, the ṭirāz factory was in existence, for Baibars II gave a present, containing cloth of Sikandarī, manufactured in this place,[112] and Sultan Ḳā'it Bey (873–902 H. [1468–95 A.D.]) gave away a gift containing fifty-one garments (tafāṣīl) of Alexandria, and ten pieces of muslin of Mashtūl (shāshāt Mashtūlī).[113] This must have been contemporary with the Jewish

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and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), II, 181, is of some interest in connection with the above: "It is at Maḳdashaw (Mogadischio in Italian Somaliland) that they make the stuffs which are called after this town, and which are quite unequalled. From Maḳdashaw they export them to Egypt and elsewhere." Again, talking of the officers of the sultan of that city, he said (*ibid.*, II, 186): "Their clothing consists of silken cloths (fūṭat al-khazz) tied round the waist, instead of trousers which they do not know, and a tunic of Egyptian linen (durrāʿa min al-maḳṭūʿ al-Miṣrī muʿlama) with a border, and a loose robe (fardjīya) of Ḳudsī (Jerusalem stuff?), and an Egyptian (Miṣrī) turban with a border (ʿimāma muʿlama)." For Ḳudsī read Maḳdashī.

[106] Cf. Chapter II (II), n. 81.

[107] See Dozy, *op. cit.*, II, 492.

[108] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 217.

[109] *Ibid.*, p. 227. This author has other valuable notes on costume which, however, do not concern us here. Byzantine satin was a common article of apparel among the great. Ṭardwaḥsh is a stuff embroidered with animals, or hunting scenes.

[110] *The Arabian Nights*, p. 236.

[111] Maḳrīzī, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks de l' Égypte*, trans. by M. Quatremère (Paris, 1837–42), II, II, 51.

[112] Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, *Histoire des sultans mamlouks*, trans. by E. Blochet, *Patrologia orientalis* (Paris, 1919–28), XII, 453.

[113] "Relation d'un voyage du Sultan Qâ'it Bây en Palestine, "trans. by R. L. Devonshire, *Bull. de l'inst. franç. d' archéol. orientale du Caire*, XX (1921), 25.

traveler Ben Rabbi Menahem (1481 A.D.),[114] who found that "the flax of Alexandria is very good, and their linen garments fine and cheap."[115]

CAIRO

Maḳrīzī described the Khaṭṭ Dār al-Dībādj in Cairo:

> It was in olden times known as the Street of the House of Brocade, because the mansion of the vizier Ya'ḳūb ibn Killis, which, today, includes the Ṣāḥibīya School, the Darb al-Ḥarīrī (Street of the Silk Worker), and the Saifīya School, was made into an institution where brocade, and silk (ḥarīr) were woven for the requirements of the Fatimid caliphs, and which became known as Dār al-Dībādj. The street was so-called until the vizier Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abdallah ibn Ali ibn Shukr dwelt there in the days of al-'Ādil Abū Bakr ibn Ayyūb (the latter half of the twelfth century), and it became known as Khaṭṭ Suwaiḳat al-Ṣāḥib.[116]

Again,[117] the house of the vizier Ibn Killis was known in Fatimid times as "Dār al-Dībādj (i.e., dār al-ṭirāz), because brocade (dībādj) which is silk was woven there." Ali Bahgat Bey, drawing from Maḳrīzī, said:

> The palace of the vizier Ya'ḳūb ibn Killis at Cairo was transformed by the vizier al-Afḍal into workshops where stuffs of brocade and silk were manufactured. The direction of these workshops was always entrusted to persons of rank in the kingdom.[118]

The same source gives an account of the expenditure on the ṭirāz factories[119] by the Fatimids, but it is not detailed enough to be of interest here—only tailors and menders (raffā') are specified among the textile workers, though judging by the list of artisans mentioned in the ṭirāz factory of Baghdad, there must have been many more.

The following account of the ṭirāz organization is given by Ibn Mammātī:

> The ṭirāz. This service (mu'āmala) has an inspector (nāẓir), an overseer (mushārif), a controller (mutawallī), and two accountants, (shāhid). Now if any sort of article is required to be manufactured, a list is made out by the Dīwān al-Khizāna ("Office of the Wardrobe"), and sent to them along with the required (or computed) money, and gold thread (dhahab maghzūl) for their expenses. When the chests (safaṭ) are brought back, they are compared with the chits which went with them, and checked. If the value comes to more than has been spent on it, the excellent nature of the workmen is inferred from that, but they derive no benefit from it at all—that is to say the surplus. If the value is less than the expenditure, the extent of the deficiency is elucidated and the requisition is made from the Dīwān, and the employees are required to pay it. The employees take the responsibility of payment on themselves, and extract it from the gold embroiderers (raḳḳām). A series of happenings of this kind in what they bring, indicates the dishonesty of their characters.[120]

Maḳrīzī stated that a palace known as Manẓara al-Ghazzāla was used by the ṭirāz factories:

> In the days of al-Afḍal (the end of the fifth century H.) the usual (sum spent on it) comprised thirty-one thousand dinars, and there were fifteen thousand dinars of that sum in particular spent on Iraq gold; the sum spent on Egyptian (Miṣrī) gold was sixteen thousand dinars. In the days of Ma'mūn it comprised forty-three

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[114] E. N. Adler, Jewish Travellers (London, 1930), p. 160.

[115] The examination of the Mameluke ṭirāz system is beyond the scope of this work, but there are many other references to it in Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* and also in P. Ravaisse, *Zoubdat Kachf al-Mamâlik . . . par Khalîl eḍ-Ḍâhiry* (Paris, 1894), p. 108 ff., and 'Umarī, *op. cit.*, p. 264.

[116] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 32.

[117] *Ibid.*, II, 104.

[118] Ali Bahgat Bey, "Manufactures d'étoffe en Égypte au Moyen Âge," *Bull. Instit. Égypte*, III-IV, (1902–3), 357. This is a good article but, unfortunately, lacks appropriate references to the text of Maḳrīzī by which one may refer to the original.

[119] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 397–400.

[120] Ibn Mammātī, *Ḳawānīn al-Dawānīn* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900–1901 A.D.]), pp. 24–25. Read on p. 25, 1, 16 "istadalla" for "istabdala."

thousand dinars, and double that in the time of al-Āmir.[121]

On the authority of Ibn Ṭuwair, he said that the chief of the ṭirāz was always a notable of some kind:

> When he arrives with the royal requisitions (al-isti‘mālāt al-khāṣṣa) which include the umbrella (miẓalla), the badla (a kind of garment), the badana (a garment especially for the caliph) and the royal apparel for the Friday prayer (al-libās al-khāṣṣ al-Djuma‘ī), etc., he is greeted with great honor, and a beast assigned to him from the caliph's stables, which remains at his service until he returns to his charge. He stays at al-Ghazzāla on the bank of the river. It used to be one of the royal belvederes, and Shu‘ā‘ ibn Shawār renovated it. If the manager of the ṭirāz factories (ṣāḥib al-ṭirāz) had ten houses in Cairo, still he would only be allowed to stay in al-Ghazzāla. Hospitality is dispensed to him as to strangers arriving (as ambassador) to the state. He comes before the caliph after bringing the chests (safaṭ) which enclose those precious robes. All he has is displayed while he draws attention to one thing after another in the hands of the royal farrashes in the palace of the caliph, wherever the monarch happens to be in residence. Great honor is shown to this personage, especially when the materials ordered suit the requirements. When this is completed, it is compared with the account which he has with him, and they are delivered to the master of the robes, and he is invested publicly before the caliph, nobody else apart from him being invested in this fashion. After this he returns to his own place. Sometimes, when he is not able to come away he sends a lieutenant, somebody related to him, who must be no less than a son or a brother of his, for the office is highly important. The sum assigned to him each month is seventy dinars. The lieutenant is assigned twenty dinars because he takes over his charge when the manager of the ṭirāz comes (to court) in person and takes his place when he is absent at his work.

According to Maḳrīzī:

> When Sultan al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Abu 'l-Muẓaffar Yūsuf ibn Ayyūb gained the mastery over the kingdom of Egypt (565H. [1169 A.D.]) he caused the custom tax of Miṣr and Cairo to be abolished, and the Cadi al-Fāḍil drew up a tariff for him on this subject. The annual sum (produced by those taxes) rose to 100,000 dinars.[122]

The following are the particulars relevant to the textile manufactures of Cairo:

The levy of al-Ṣanā‘a for the payment of the customs established on cloth, copper, tin, coral, and precious objects which come there	5,193 dinars
Tax on the warehouse of cotton (Funduḳ al-Ḳuṭn)	67 dinars
Tax on flax and cotton arriving at al-Ṣanā‘a [123]	100 dinars
Tax collected at Faiyum on flax coming there from the south, and merchandise which goes out	4,160 dinars
Tax on ornaments (ḥulā) coming from the north, and cotton	1,020 dinars
Stamp (khātam) on sharb linen and Dabīḳī	1,500 dinars
Tax on wool	250 dinars
Taxes on the linen warehouse (Dār al-Kattān)	60 dinars
Brokerage on linen	300 dinars
The Ṭabarī factory (ma‘mal al-Ṭabarī)	240 dinars
Tax on cloth called khāmat al-Shāshiyīn [124]	33 dinars
Tax on goat hair (sha‘r) and circles of wood (ṭārāt)	4 dinars
Tax on dye (ṣibgh) and silk (ḥarīr)	334 dinars

Ibn Duḳmāḳ [125] in his description of the topography of Cairo, gave some scattered notes on the streets where cloth was sold. In 378 H. (988 A.D.) the transfer of the silk market (ḥarīr) and the wax market was made to the Ḳaiṣarīya of Abū Murra. Again, he mentioned the Ḳaiṣarīya of Waratha al-Ẓāhir, which was well known for the sale of Syrian (Sha'mī, or Damascus) cloth (ḳumāsh).[126] Maḳrīzī stated that the Sūḳ al-Khilaʿīyīn ("Market of the Sellers of Robes of Honor") "is one of the most frequented markets in Cairo because of the amount of clothing sold to the royal family and others. The greater part of that which is sold there consists of tailored garments (al-thiyāb al-mukhaiyaṭa)." [127] Probably, Maḳrīzī referred here to his own time (766–845 H. [1364–1442 A.D.]).

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[121] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 469.

[122] Maḳrīzī, *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte*, p. 298. ff. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, I, 104. ff.

[123] Reading al-kattān wa'l-‘uṭb.

[124] Probably a quarter of Cairo where turbans (shāsh) were made.

[125] Ibn Duḳmāḳ, ed. by C. Vollers, *Description de l'Égypte* (Cairo, 1893), I, 39.

[126] *Ibid.*, I, 38. Cf. I, 37, 38, 49. The pointing of the names is uncertain.

The Mamelukes adopted Abbasid prerogatives very soon after the accession of Baibars, who, according to al-Ḥasan al-Fa'sī al-Makkī al-Malikī,[128] was the first to send a covering (kiswa) to Mecca after the Abbasids, some time after the year 660 H. (1262 A.D.):

> The kings of Egypt controlled this, except that the covering of the Kaaba was made in Ghulla, a village outside Cairo, which al-Malik al-Ṣāliḥ Ismaʿīl ibn al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muhammad ibn Ḳalāūn, the ruler of Egypt made a mortmain (waḳf) for the covering of the Kaaba each year. . . . The name of the sultan of Egypt was inscribed on the Kaaba-covering. Thus, the power of Baibars spread into the Hejaz.[129]

Ḳalḳashandī (*ob.* 821 H. [1418 A.D.]) said that "this covering is woven at the capital Cairo at Mashhad al-Ḥusain, of black silk (ḥarīr) embroidered (muṭarraz) with a white inscription, in the weave itself (fī nafs al-nasadj)." [130] He added that sometimes the kings of Yemen send it.

A certain Muhammad ibn Makkī . . . al-Raḳḳām al-Dimashḳī (614–99 H. [1217–99 A.D.]) is mentioned by Maḳrīzī, who mentioned that he was a raḳḳām (embroiderer) in the ṭirāz factory in Cairo, but no other information is forthcoming about him.[131] The same writer noted that most of the districts of Cairo are sown with flax.[132]

Part III

THE DELTA AND THE FAIYUM

Short notices on the various flax-producing towns or large villages in the Delta remain scattered throughout the geographers, but the following list, is at best, fragmentary. Nearly every place in the Delta would produce flax.

Ḥānūt. Idrīsī said: "At Ḥānūt they cultivate much flax. It grows well here and forms the principal mainstay of the inhabitants."[133]

Sunbāṭ. Benjamin of Tudela said: "The inhabitants sow flax and weave linen which they export to all parts of the world." [134] Idrīsī said: "At Sunbāṭ, they cultivate flax." [135]

Damsīs. Idrīsī wrote: "Damsīs has a fair every Saturday in which every kind of fine cloth and goods are bought and sold, and merchants go to it." [136]

Again Ibn Zawlāḳ (before 387 H. [997 A.D.]) noted: "In it (Egypt) are the towns of Maḥalla, Banā, Būṣīr, and Samannūd, and the linen in them which is carried to the countries of Islam, and the unbelievers and the utmost limits of the world." [137]

These towns were probably drawn upon for their flax by the important cities of the Tinnīs–Damietta group. Another group of cities, concerning which there is information, lies more to the West.

Ṣakhā. Ibn Ḥawḳal [138] said that it has much flax. This must be the same city as Sak͟hā. Sanhūr, too, he said, has linen.

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[127] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 104.

[128] *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, (Leipzig, 1857–61), II, 269, f.

[129] See Appendix II for the covering of the Kaaba.

[130] Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* (Cairo, 1331–18 H. [1913–19 A.D.]), IV, 57.

[131] Maḳrīzī, *Kitāb al-Muḳaffā*, extract in M. Amari, *Biblioteca Arabo-Sicula* (Leipzig, 1857), p. 668.

[132] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, II, 129. The very informative material on the Mameluke period has barely been mentioned here. See *ibid.*, II, 113, etc.

[133] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 153.

[134] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, trans., p. 77.

[135] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 153.

[136] *Ibid.*

[137] Ibn Zawlāḳ, extract in Youssouf Kamal, *Monumenta cartographica Aegypti et Africae* (Leyden, 1930–34), III, II, 685.

[138] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 138. The interchange of ṣād and sīn is unusual in Arabic, but it does occur.

Damanhūr. Abu 'l-Fidā' recorded: "Damanhūr cloth is named after it." [139]

Abyār is only mentioned by later authors. Ibn Baṭūṭa said:

> In Abyār, very beautiful garments (t͟hiyāb) of high price in Syria, Iraq, Miṣr (Egypt), and elsewhere are manufactured. It is a strange thing that it is near Naḥrārīya, but the garments which are made there are not considered of much consequence nor esteemed by its inhabitants.[140]

Wüstenfeld [141] noted from Ḳalḳas͟handī that in the D͟jazīra of the Banū Naṣr, between Abyār and the western arm of the Nile, there were costly stuffs of the kind called muk͟haiyarāt made. Ibn Iyās stated:

> Abyār is a town in the neighborhood of Alexandria and there was a mine of natron there, and everything that fell into it became natron. . . . After it are called the Abyāri "ẓuhūr," which are made of silk (ḥarīr) and linen, the best of manufactures.[142]

THE FAIYUM

This district was famous for its textiles before the Muslim invasion, and the manufactures continued in Islamic times without a break. Much information on the factories of the Faiyum is available. In the historical romance, entitled *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā* ("Conquest of Bahnasā"), we catch many glimpses of the fine stuffs worn by the Coptic leaders when they went forth to meet the Arabs, rich silken materials with gold embroideries.

The romance mentions a material very like ṭardwaḥs͟h, a tent upholstered with silk (ḥarīr) of various colors, blue, red, green, and black, embroidered (muḳaṣṣab ?) with gold and silver thread, ornamented with pearls, both sides of which, inside and out, had figures (taṣwīr) of birds and wild animals, as well as other drawings They spread a carpet (bisāṭ) of many-colored silk and furnished it with cushions (wasīda), couches (misnad), and mats. The tent cords were made of silk of various colors, and adjusted by pegs of ivory and ebony by means of gold and silver guys.[143]

Again, a patriarch is described as wearing brocade (dībād͟ja) embroidered with gold (muḳaṣṣab).[144] It is also worthy of note that when the Arabs took the city of Ahnās, their plunder contained many gold and silver vessels and splendid stuffs (furs͟h fāk͟hira).[145] All these stuffs seem similar to the textiles which were woven in this district at later times.

Ya'ḳūbī reported:

> In Faiyum (town) coarse cloth (k͟hais͟h) is made. The town of Ḳais is there, where the Ḳaisī garments and the excellent robes are made, also the town of Bahnasā (Oxyrynchus) where the Bahnasā curtains (sutūr) are made, and the town of Ahnās where the robes are made.[146]

Mas'ūdī [147] noted the ṭirāz factories of Bahnasā, as did al-Kindī.[148] Ibn Ḥawḳal, however, is the best informed about the factories in this province:

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[139] Abu 'l-Fidā', *Géographie d'Aboulféda,* trans. by M. Reinaud (Paris, 1847–83), I, 145.

[140] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.,* I, 54.

[141] F. Wüstenfeld, *Die Geographie und Verwaltung von Ägypten* (Göttingen, 1879). For the word muk͟haiyarāt, see the glossary to Idrīsī, *op. cit.*

[142] Ibn Iyās, L. Langlès, "Cosmographie . . . par . . . Mohammed . . . ben Ayâs (Nas͟hḳ al-Azhār)," *Not. et extr. de la Bibl. Nat.,* VIII (Paris, 1810), 29–30.

[143] E. Galtier, "Foutouh al-Bahnasâ," *Mém. de l'instit. franç. d'archéol. orientale du Caire,* XXII (1909). 140, text (infra), p. 70. This is a French translation from a critical text which has never been published and which may vary considerably from the Cairo edition of the *Futūḥ al-Bahnasā* published in 1297 H. (1879–80 A.D.), to which the textual references in these notes refer.

[144] *Ibid.,* trans., p. 133, text, p. 66.

[145] *Ibid.,* trans., p. 116, text, p. 58.

[146] Ya'ḳūbī, *op. cit.,* VII, 331. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ,* p. 734.

[147] Mas'ūdī, *Kitâb at -Tanbîh wa'l-Ischrâf,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1894), VIII, 22.

[148] Youssouf Kamal, *op. cit.,* p. 631.

> In Faiyum there are large fine towns and well-known ṭirāz factories as well as great estates, belonging to the sultan and to the public (ʿāmma). In it are to be found wares, too famous to require repetition, such as Bahnasā, where curtains, brocade (istabraḳāt), awnings (or sails), tents (khaima), cloaks (ḥulla), hangings (or veils, sitāra), carpets (busuṭ), large tents (miḍrab), and great pavilions (fusṭāṭ) are made with wool, linen, and dyes that do not fade, and colors in which you can see figures, (ranging from) the gnat to the elephant. Those servants of the sultan, who worked in the ṭirāz factories were never in want of caliphs, people of distinction, or merchants from all ends of the earth to indulge their tastes therein, in the way of costly long curtains (sutūr), the length of a single one of which was thirty dhirāʿ, more or less, and the price of a pair of which was about three hundred dinars.[149]

Maḳdisī merely remarked: "In Bahnasā are manufactured curtains (sutūr), mats (anmāṭ), and the valuable flax which is grown in Būṣīr."[150] Idrīsī said:

> It is at Bahnasā that there were and still are ṭirāz factories where they weave for royal use (khāṣṣa), the precious curtains which are known as Bahnasī, the sultan's cloth (maḳāṭiʿ), the large tents, and the mutakhaiyar (chosen ?) cloth. In it are many ṭirāz factories belonging to the public (ʿāmma), where merchants evaluate the precious curtains, the length of one of which is thirty dhirāʿ, more or less. No curtains, robes, or other cloths made of wool and cotton are made there without the names of the ṭirāz factories being placed upon them, whether it is the royal (khāṣṣ) ṭirāz, or the public ṭirāz factories, a prescribed custom which the preceding age established, and those workers who came after them followed, up to this present time of ours. These curtains, carpets (fursh) and robes are renowned throughout the earth.[151]

It is upon one of these passages that the account of Maḳrīzī seems to be founded:

> It is there that they make the curtains known as Bahnasī, and where they weave the ṭirāz-embroidered stuffs, the royal cloths (al-maḳāṭiʿ al-sulṭānīya), the large tents (miḍrab), and the striped robes (muḥabbara). They make curtains here, a single one of which measured thirty dhirāʿ, and a pair of which were worth two hundred mithḳāls of gold. When they make a curtain, robes, and garments of wool or cotton, they always inscribe the name of him who is to receive the object. It is a custom handed down from age to age.[152]

By the "preceding age" the authors may have referred to the Byzantine domination of Egypt. The Faiyum greatly declined during the Muslim period, and the revenues at the end of the Fatimid dynasty had sunk by nearly five-sixths. However, even Ibn Baṭūṭa, much later (756 H. [1355 A.D.]), still noted that "excellent woollen cloth is made at Bahnasā."[153]

"From Būṣīr Ḳūrīdus comes fine flax," according to Maḳdisī.[154] This was a town which lay at the entrance to the Faiyum.

Between Bahnasā and Cairo was the city of Būsh, of which the *Mushtarik* said: "To it are attributed the Būsh napkins (mandīl)."[155] Ibn Baṭūṭa[156] remarked that it was the largest flax-producing town in Egypt and that much linen was exported thence to all Egypt and Africa. Dilāṣ, also, had flax.

UPPER EGYPT

Many other towns of Upper Egypt had also important manufactories of cloth. Ibn Ḥawḳal said: "Ṭaḥā is a town, too, in which there is more than one ṭirāz factory."[157] Maḳdisī added: "Ṭaḥā is a village in Upper Egypt where woolen cloth of very high quality is made."[158] Idrīsī remarked: "In Ṭaḥā and its ṭirāz factories, curtains (sutūr) and robes of wool are made, called after the locality."[159]

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[149] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

[150] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

[151] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 50. Perhaps متخيم should be read for متخير, giving the sense of "tent-cloth."

[152] Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, p. 704. Cf. Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 237.

[153] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, I, 96.

[154] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *op. cit.*, III, 203.

[155] Yāḳūt, *Jacut's Moshtarik, das ist Lexikon geographischer Homonyme*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846), p. 70.

[156] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, I. 95.

[157] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

According to Iṣṭak͟hrī[160] much cloth was brought from Ashmunein. While Ibn Ḥawḳal noted that "linen is brought from it and many garments are despatched to Cairo (Miṣr) and elsewhere."[161] Idrīsī spoke of Ashmunein "in which and in its ṭirāz factories, they make curtains and carpets of wool which are called after the city."[162] Maḳrīzī, doubtless on earlier sources, reported that "they used to make upholstery dyed with ḳirmiz (furs͟h al-ḳirmiz) similar to the Armenian (Armanī)."[163] This last note is important, for it shows that in Egypt, too, the influence of this most important province was felt. The extraneous influences of the Coptic textiles, themselves of pre-Muslim times may have been those of Armenia, rather than those of south Persia.

Yāḳūt[164] mentioned a town Sanabū, west of the Nile, near Dairūt, in which are robes and horse cloths (kunbūs͟h) which cannot be surpassed.

The town of Asyut was a place where the Armenian type of manufacture was practiced, so this style cannot have been of rare occurrence in Egypt. The sheep-rearing in the locality made it a center of woolen textiles. Mas'ūdī[165] mentioned the factories (ṭirāz) of Asyut. Nāṣir-i-K͟husraw gave more particulars:

> In this Asyut, they weave cloth (dastār) of sheep wool, which has no equal in the world, and fine wools which are taken to Persia and which they call Miṣri, (Egyptian). All this is from Upper Egypt, for in Cairo itself they weave no wool. I myself have seen in Asyut a cloth (fūṭa) manufactured of sheep's wool, the like of which I have not seen in Lahāwar (Lahore), nor Multan, so that I thought it silk (ḥarīr) from the look of it.[166]

Yāḳūt said that Asyut had many Christians and seventy-five Christian churches: "Ḥasan ibn Ibrāhīm al-Miṣrī says: 'In it are looms (minsad͟j) of Armanī-stuff, and triple (mut͟hallat͟h) Dabīḳī.'"[167] Ḳazwīnī repeated that "there are many Christian churches . . . there are exported thence to the whole world, weaves (manāsid͟j) of Dabīḳī, and delightful cloth, the like of which is not to be found in the world."[168]

Akhmim was another well-known manufactory, though literary information about it is lacking. According to von Falke[169] there was a factory there in Byzantine times under Coptic control; he discussed this very fully. Ya'ḳūbī[170] wrote that "in it are made 'cut' carpets (al-fars͟h al-ḳuṭū')."[171] Mas'ūdī[172] mentioned its ṭirāz factories with those of Bahnasā and Asyut.

In the south of Egypt, Yāḳūt[173] stated that Ḳūṣ (which ultimately supplanted Aswan as the chief city in that region) was a station of traders coming from Aden. Of Aswan itself, Ibn Ḥawḳal said: "It has supplies of linen manufactured into pieces of cloth (s͟hiḳḳa) and kerchiefs (mandīl) which are taken to the Hejaz and Cairo (Miṣr).[174]

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[158] Maḳdisī, *op. cit.*, p. 202.

[159] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, page 53. Ṭaḥā with a variant Ṭak͟hā.

[160] Iṣṭak͟hrī, *op. cit.*, I, 53.

[161] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 158.

[162] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 46.

[163] Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, trans., p. 710 and text, I, 239.

[164] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 157.

[165] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 22.

[166] Nāṣir-i-K͟husraw, *op. cit.*, II, I, text, p. 61, trans., p. 173.

[167] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 272.

[168] Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, II, 99. Possibly Yāḳūt should be corrected from Ḳazwīnī.

[169] von Falke, *Decorative Silks*, p. 7.

[170] Ya'ḳūbī, *op. cit.*, p. 332.

[171] Read perhaps "maḳṭū'".

[172] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

[173] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 201.

[174] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 159.

Part IV

THE FATIMIDS

A great deal of miscellaneous and confused material is available on the ṭirāz factories which supplied the Fatimid dynasty. Besides information detailed elsewhere, some material which seems to relate to the dynasty will be given in this section.

The first Fatimid to have the name of his vizier placed upon the ṭirāz inscriptions was Caliph al-ʿAzīz billāh, in the middle of the fourth century H.[175] Most of the notices relate to Caliph al-Mustanṣir, who was forced, for various reasons, to disperse the property of his ancestors. Tag͟hrībirdī [176] throws rather a curious sidelight on the Fatimids. Owing to the great famine in Mustanṣir's reign, he was even obliged to sell the garments which had been in al-Ḳaṣr from the time of the Abbasid Caliph al-Ṭā'iʿ, when Bahā' al-Dawla (of Shia persuasion) plundered the Dār al-K͟hilāfa (in Baghdad) in the year 381 H. (991 A.D.), that is to say he deposed al-Ṭā'iʿ. The caliphs of Egypt used to keep those garments because they hated the Abbasids, so as to disgrace them.

The Fatimids not only imported many different kinds of textiles from Persia, Iraq, Spain, and Byzantium, but the workmen also, or at least the latter were attracted to their opulent court, for Maḳrīzī [177] mentioned a certain Abū Sahl al-Tustarī (from Tustar or S͟hustar), who made a boat for Mustanṣir's mother, which was called "The Silvery," and again, Sicilian carpenters manufactured barques for the Fatimids, which, like the Baghdad rivercraft of a similar type, were upholstered with Dabīḳī cloth and had colored Dabīḳī awnings (sutūr Dabīḳīya mulawwana). Further, it seems likely that some, at least, of the foreign weaves mentioned in the palace treasuries were made in the state looms of Egypt.

According to the same author it was the Dīwān al-Mad͟jlis which was responsible for "the expenses of the dār al-ṭirāz for the royal (k͟hāṣṣ) manufactures required, which amounted to ten thousand dinars yearly." [178]

The Manẓara al-G͟hazzāla has already been discussed under the history of Cairo, but there were many other institutions connected with the ṭirāz in that city, namely the "Stores of Upholstery and Furnishings" and the "Tent Store." For the descriptions of these places, Maḳrīzī drew on the *Kitāb al-D͟hak͟hā'ir* ("Book of Treasures" or "Stores"), possibly written by Mud͟jallā ibn D͟jamīʿ (*fl.* 549 H. [1154 A.D.]).[179] It is better, however, first to consult Maḳrīzī on the "Wardrobe of Robes" (K͟hizāna al-Kisawāt):

> Ibn Abī Ṭaiy said: "He (meaning al-Muʿizz li-Dīn Allāh 342–65 H. [953–75 A.D.]), founded an institution (dār), and called it Dār al-Kiswa, wherein all kinds of garments and cloth used to be cut. According to their various ranks, he used to invest the people with the summer and winter clothing (kiswa); their wives and children receiving the same. He made that a prescribed custom which they inherited in aftertimes from one another. He made out a register for this purpose and called the place K͟hizānat al-Kiswa." Mentioning the decline of the dynasty, he says: "Another interesting item of historical information about them is that, from the K͟hazā'in al-Kiswa, they used to bring forth to all their servants, retainers, and dependents, both great and small, high and low, robes for summer and winter, from the turban to the trousers, and other clothing of less importance, and the napkins (mindīl) of splendid cloth and precious stuffs for apparel. . . . I have heard a certain person say that he was present at the "Investiture" at al-Ḳaṣr which used to take place in summer and winter, the value (of the stuffs given away) then being more than six hundred

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[175] Maḳrīzī, *K͟hiṭaṭ*, text, II, 284.

[176] Ibn Tag͟hrībirdī, "Abu 'l-Maḥāsin ibn Tag͟hrībirdī's *Annals, al-Nud͟jūm al-Ẓāhira*," ed. W. Popper, *Univ. Calif. Publ. Semitic Philol.*, II (1909), 181. Cf. E. Wallis Budge, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

[177] Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 473, 475, 478.

[178] *Ibid.*, I, 398.

[179] See A. R. Guest, "A List of Writers, Books, and Other Authorities Mentioned by El-Maqrīzī in His K͟hiṭaṭ," *Journ. Royal Asiatic Soc.*, XXXIV (1902), 103–26.

> thousand dinars. The emirs used to be invested with garments of Dabīḳī, and turbans with gold ṭirāz borders, these two items being worth five hundred dinars. The greatest emirs were invested with necklaces (ṭawḳ), bracelets (siwār), and ornamented swords. . . . In 516 H. (1122 A.D.) the various articles upon which money was spent, came to 14,305 pieces. The largest sum of money ever expended on such a thing as that in the days of al-Afḍal (*ca.* 500 H.) throughout the whole of his administration, in the year 513 H. (1119 A.D.) was 8,775 pieces.[180]

Many more details of the garments distributed, and their value follow, too profuse to include here, but it is noteworthy that the types of stuffs included Damietta, Alexandrine, and Sūs cloth. This latter city may either be the Sūs in Africa or the city of Persia, both of which had a ṭirāz; the African Sūs is, however, probably intended, because an Abbasid inscribed textile could hardly be presented as a gift by their mortal enemies the Fatimids. This institution might be compared to the wardrobes of the Abbasid caliphs which it probably imitated.

A list of the perquisites appertaining to the office of controller of the Dīwān al-Madjlis in the year 517 H. (1123–24 A.D.) is given by Maḳrīzī, and includes:

> On the four festivals, four trays (ṣīnīya) of meats for the Breaking of the Fast (Fiṭra), and a winter investiture (kiswat al-Shitā') consisting of, for his own person, a napkin (mandīl) of silk, a piece (shiḳḳa) of Dabīḳī of silk, a piece of brocade, a cloak (ridā') of satin (aṭlas), a piece of brocade from the ṭirāz factory (shiḳḳa dībādj Dārī), two pieces of siḳlātūn one of them Alexandrine, two pieces of 'Attābī, two pieces of Maghribī khazz silk, two pieces of Iskandarī (Alexandrine cloth), and two of Dimyāṭī, a piece of striped gilded stuff and a cloth (fūṭa) of royal stuff (?khāṣṣ). For his children, he received a piece of scarlet from the ṭirāz factory (siḳlāṭūn Dārī), a piece of 'Attābī from the same factory (Dārī), a piece of Maghribī khazz silk, two pieces of Dimyāṭī, two of Iskandarī, one of gilded stuff,[181] and a cloth (fūṭa). For those of his household he received two napkins for sleeves (?), one of which came from the royal wardrobe, cloaks (ridā') of Dabīḳī, a piece of 'Attābī, and one of Sūs material, a piece of Dimyāṭī, two pieces of Iskandarī, and a cloth (fūṭa). For himself also, at the Breaking of the Fast, two bowls (ṭaifūr) of meats for the Breaking of the Fast, a hundred jars of būrī fish, and a complete suit of gold-embroidered clothes, and a suit of silk clothes for his children. For the people of his household he received a gold-embroidered cloak (ḥulla mudhahhaba).
>
> The Feast of the Sacrifice was the same as the Feast of the Breaking of the Fast, with the addition of a gift of ten dinars, and sheep were sent to him that were not in his name. At the Festival of the Opening of the Dam (at the inundation of the Nile), forty dinars, a tray (ṣīnīya) of food (fiṭra), a royal bowl (ṭaifūr khāṣṣ) from al-Ḳaṣr, a roasted lamb, and a cup (djām) of sweetmeats. For his children he received five dinars, and for himself, at Nawrūz, thirty dinars, a piece of Dabīḳī of silk, a piece of red silk (lādh), a silken veil (mi'djar), and a silk napkin for sleeves (?), and a cloth (fūṭa).[182]

The following is the description of the "Stores of Upholstery and Furnishings" (Khazā' in al-Farsh wa 'l-Amti'a):

> A trustworthy person related to me on the authority of Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Anmāṭī, saying: "We registered all the Khusrawānī (kingly cloth) brought forth from the treasuries of al-Ḳaṣr, which came to more than fifty thousand pieces, most of it embroidered with gold (mudhahhab)." I questioned Ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz further, and he said: "From the treasuries more than a hundred thousand pieces were brought forth, the price of which was written down by my own hands and in my presence. A divan (martaba) made of red Khusrawānī cloth sold for three thousand five hundred dinars, was brought forth, one of ḳalamūnī cloth, sold for two thousand four hundred dinars, and three of sundus (a green brocaded stuff) each one of which was sold for over thirty dinars, besides twenty thousand pieces of Khusrawānī stuff along with their fringes, not one of which was cut. The price of the materials sold at the lowest and highest prices during the space of fifteen days in Ṣafar of 460 H. (1067 A.D.), quite apart from what was plundered or stolen, came to thirty million dinars, the whole of which was taken by the army and the Turks, not one taking a single dirham to which he was entitled."

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[180] Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 409. ff.

[181] Reading طلى مريش for طلى مرش. Cf. Dozy, *op. cit.*, I, 574–75, quoting Idrīsī and Bakrī.

[182] Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 400.

The emir Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ali ibn al-Ḥasan, one of the chiefs of the tentmakers in al-Ḳaṣr told me that the farrashes (porters) entered one of the stores of upholstery, when al-Māraḳī's demands of money from al-Mustanṣir were very pressing, namely, the Khizānat al-Rufūf ("shelves"), so named on the account of the quantity of shelves (raff) in it. Each shelf had a separate ladder, and they brought down two thousand packages, consisting of pieces of gold brocade (ṭamīm) of all kinds of Khusrawānī material, etc., with their fringes, which had never been used. All of them were embroidered in gold (mudhahhab), worked with all kinds of figures (ashkāl) and images (ṣūra). They opened a bundle and found that it contained saddlecloths (djull), made for elephants of red gold-embroidered Khusrawānī stuff, of the very best kind of manufacture. The place where the thighs and legs of the elephants were, was plain (sādhidj) without any gold. Three thousand pieces of red Khusrawānī, embroidered (muṭarraz) in white on their fringes were brought forth, along with the trappings of howdahs (literally "tents") with all their appurtenances and cloths (maḳāṭi'). Every howdah was complete with its cushions (misnad), pillows (mikhadda), leather pillows (miswar), divans (martaba), carpets (busuṭ), seats ('ataba), cloths (maḳāṭi'), curtains (sitr), everything required being there."

He further said: "From the Khazā'in al-Farsh, there were brought forth entire tents (bait), furnishings (farsh) of Ḳalamūnī, Dabīḳī of a velvet pile (mukhmal), in all its colors and kinds, the abundance of which it is impossible to estimate, nor can the extent of its value be known, reed mats (ḥuṣur), and strips (nakhkh) of Sāmān, with a ṭirāz border of gold and silver, and those without a ṭirāz border, of the embroidered (mukharram) kind, and a great number of birds and elephants depicted with all kinds of pictures. One of the Turks asked for a piece of striped linen stuff (miḳrama), that is to say, a curtain (sitāra) of green gold-embroidered sundus material, so a package of it was brought out, upon which was written "188 of the total number of packages containing cloth (matā')." (Packages) to the number of two hundred were found, composed of silk curtains woven with gold, of different colors and lengths, nearly a thousand (in all). Upon those were the pictures of dynasties and their kings, and notables, his name, the length of his life, and an account of each one being written upon each. Four thousand bales (rizma) of gold-embroidered Khusrawānī were brought forth from the upholstery stores, in each of which were the furnishings (farsh) for an audience chamber (madjlis), with its large carpets (busuṭ) and appurtenances, and other articles woven (mansūdj) with one thread, remaining just as they were without ever having been touched.

Fakhr al-'Arab received a piece of blue Tustarī Ḳurḳūbī silk (maḳṭa' ḥarīr azraḳ) of strange workmanship, woven with gold and other colors of silk, which was made to the order of al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh in the year 353 H. (964 A.D.) with all the regions (iḳlīm) of the world depicted therein, with their mountains, seas, towns, rivers, and roads like geography (djughrāfiyā). There was a picture of Mecca and Medina set forth for the spectators, with the name written on every town, mountain, river, country, sea, road, in gold, silver, or silk. On the back of it there was: "That which al-Mu'izz li-Dīn Allāh ordered to be manufactured out of love for the Sacred Territory of God (Ḥaram Allāh), and so as to show the places (known to) the prophet of God. In the year 353 H. (964 A.D.). The expenditure on it was 22,000 dinars."[183]

Tādj al-Mulūk received a tent of red Armanī (Armenian material) woven (mansūdj) with gold which was made for al-Mutawakkil (the Abbasid) without any peer or price, as well as a Khusrawānī carpet for which a thousand dinars were paid and which it was impossible to sell.

Ibn Ṭuwair said:

The upholstery store is near the Bāb al-Malik. The caliph goes to it without sitting down there, but walks around, asks for information about the state of affairs there, and orders the work to be carried on. One of its rights was the manufacture of Sāmān ("reed mats") in places elsewhere in Cairo and Miṣr. Its employees are given fifteen dinars, that is to say, on the day when the caliph goes to visit it.

Again, on the authority of the *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir*, Maḳrīzī[184] gave an account of the "Stores of Tents":

Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ali ibn Ahmed ibn Mudabbir, the vizier of Nāṣir al-Dawla said: "Among the articles brought forth from the treasuries of al-Ḳaṣr, was a countless number of packages containing tents (khaima), large tents (miḍrab), tents with two poles (fāza), flat-roofed tents (musaṭṭaḥ), military tents (? djarkawāt), fortress tents, and castle tents, tents with one side only, pavilions and marquees (fusṭāṭ) manufactured of Dabīḳī and velvet stuffs,[185] Khusrawānī stuffs, royal brocade (dībādj malikī), Armenian stuff, cloth from Bahnasā and Karduwān (in Persia), and the best kind of Ḥalabī (stuff manufactured at Aleppo), etc., of various colors and kinds, as well as of sundus brocade and ṭamīm (gold-brocaded stuff) embroidered with designs of elephants, wild beasts, horses, peacocks, birds, and other kinds of wild animals, birds [186] and human beings (Ādamīyūn) of all manner of striking and wonderful forms and shapes. Among them were the plain (sādhidj) kind, and that which is embroidered outside with wonderful pictures (naḳsh), with all their appurtenances, consisting of poles covered with plating of silver, and cloth of gold, and cloth without gold of all kinds and colors, and dishes (ṣufrīya) of silver, according to their size, ropes covered with cotton and silk, and all the other appurtenances and articles required, the whole being lined (mubaṭṭan) with gold Dabīḳī brocade (al-Dabīḳī al-ṭamīm al-mudhahhab), and gold Khusrawānī, and Chinese silk cloth and Tustarī cloth, and . . .[187] and goat wool (sha'rī) cloth, and striped cloth (muraiyash), and all kinds of silk of all colors and varieties.

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[183] *Ibid.*, I, 416. It is uncertain whether the indication of the price is part of the inscription, but how else could the farrāsh know it? Perhaps one may assume that a ticket was attached to each piece.

[184] *Ibid.*, I, 418. ff.

A little further on, he described a tent:

> There was depicted on the wall (rafraf) of it, the picture of every beast in the world, and every delightful piece of interlacing work ('iḳd malīḥ), and every pleasing shape. There was a ventilator of the length of thirty dhirā' on the top of it which Abu Muhammad al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Yāzūrī had ordered to be made in the days of his vizierate. The artificers to the number of one hundred and fifty were employed in its manufacture over a period of nine years, and its cost came to thirty thousand dinars. Its manufacture was in the style of al-Ḳātūl which al-'Azīz billāh had ordered to be made in the days when he was caliph.[188] [He said to me:] We brought forth a flat-roofed tent (musaṭṭaḥ), made for al-Ẓāhir in Tinnīs of gold on gold of ṭamīm (gold brocade) . . . and another large one of gold-embroidered Dabīḳī, with walls (dawā'ir) of Karduwānī (from Karduwān in Persia) with pretty decoration (naḳsh).

Part V

THE SYRIAN BORDER

The Traditions frequently mention a stuff called Ḳassī. The material seems to have been in use in the early days of Islam, and there are several descriptions of it. Bukhārī said:

> Concerning the wearing of the garment Ḳassī, 'Āṣim says that Abū Burda said: "When I asked Ali what one called Ḳassī, he replied to me: 'They are garments which came to us from Syria and Egypt. They were striped (muḍalla') and contained silk (ḥarīr); there are some which are like oranges (in texture or color ?) or like the skins of animals (mīthara). Women make them for the use of their husbands of a stuff similar to velvet (ḳaṭīfa) and dye them yellow.' "[189]

Djarīr in the traditions which he cited on the authority of Yazīd, said: "The Ḳassī is a striped garment which comes from Egypt, and contains silk. Mīthara are the skins of animals."

Another place mentions that saddle cushions, the wearing of stuffs called Ḳassī, garments of silk brocade (dībādj), and satin (istabraḳ) are forbidden.[190] Thus, already in the third century H. there was some doubt about the exact nature of these stuffs. Confusion seems to have arisen between two towns of a similar name, for Maḳrīzī gave the following account of Ḳais:

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[185] Perhaps Dabīḳī mukhmal should be read for Dabīḳī wa-mukhmal.

[186] These seem to have been cloths with patterns (perhaps repeat-patterns) of a single animal. The Arabic words are "Mufaiyal, musabba', mukhaiyal, muṭawwis, muṭaiyar," all of which seem to be formed on similar lines to the stuffs called "Mudannar, mufallas" named after their resemblance to an allover pattern of gold or copper coins. Compare also mukhattam. Al-Tha'ālibī in the treatise known as *Fiḳh al-Lugha* added mu'aiyan "with an eye pattern," and quoted a verse referring to the time of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, concerning carpets and cloth "decorated with horses," and "decorated with birds."

[187] There are several varieties of cloth here which I have not been able to find in any other text. The words may be corrupt. These are muḍabbab (?, embroidered with lizards), and radjīḥ (heavy, weighted ?).

[188] Described by Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.*, I, 470 ff.

[189] El-Bokhârî, *Les Traditions islamiques*, trans. by O. Houdas and W. Marçais, *P.E.L.O.V.*, IV, III, IV, 108. Cf. *Le Recueil des traditions mahométanes par . . . el-Bokhârî*, ed. M. L. Krehl and T. W. Juynboll (Leyden, 1862–1905), IV, 84.

> Ḳais was one of the neighboring districts to Bahnasā . . . Ibn al-Kindī said: "They have garments of wool, and robes of goat hair (mir'izz) which are not to be found anywhere in the world but in Egypt. Some Egyptians relate that Mu'āwiya ibn Abī Sufyān, when he became old, could not keep warm, and it was agreed that he could only be kept warm by robes made in Egypt of dyed goat wool of a pure honey color. Numbers were made for him, but he needed only one. They have the ṭirāz inscription of Ḳais and al-Bahnasā on the curtains (sutūr) and tents (miḍrab) by which they are recognised. The ṭirāz of the people of the world is there." [191]

Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi in discussing other ṭirāz cities, said: "One of the districts of the Ṣa'īd (Upper Egypt) is al-Ḳais after which Ḳaisī garments are named, and another is al-Ṣafan (?) after which red Ṣafan robes are named." [192]

Ibn Zawlāḳ, however (before 387 H. [997 A.D.]), gave information about quite another locality. Talking of El Arish ('Arīsh) and Djifār, he said: "They have garments (thiyāb) which are mentioned by the prophet of God, known as Ḳassī made in Ḳass." [193]

This city of Ḳais is mentioned in the same work of Maḳrīzī, but it is obviously a different place from the city near Bahnasā:

> A village to which are attributed the Ḳaisī garments, the ruins of which exist to this day. It is upon the salt sea between al-Sawāda and al-Wārida, about six posts by land from the town of al-Faramā. There is a great tel (hill) of sand, jutting into the Syrian Sea, where the Franks used to block the road to passers by. Near the hill is a salt patch where there is salt which the Arabs take to Gaza and Ramle. Near this salt patch are wells by which are planted cucumbers belonging to the Arabs of that region.[194]

Yāḳūt tried to explain the name in various ways. After quoting from the Traditions he added the remark of a philologist, which is probably incorrect:

> Shimr said: "Al-Ḳassī is al-Ḳazzī, the *z* of which has been changed into an *s*." He quoted a verse of Rabī'a ibn Maḳrūm: "They made noble mats (namaṭ) into curtains (khidr), and displayed leather and striped wool ('ihn) upon the litters, and wore Iraqi stuff (raiṭ) and precious Ḳassī."
>
> I say that in the land of India, between the river Wārā is a country called Ḳassī, a well-known place from which various kinds of garments and colored wrappings (mi'zar) are imported. They are the most splendid of all stuffs imported from India of that kind. Indigo is imported thence used for dyeing. It is also of the finest of its kind.
>
> A reliable Egyptian authority stated: I asked the Arabs of Djifār about al-Ḳassī, and I was shown a place like a hillock (tel) from afar, and I was told that this is al-Ḳass. It is a place near the coast between al-Faramā and El Arish, ruined, and without any traces left.
>
> Al-Ḥasan ibn Muhammad al-Muhallabī, the Egyptian, said: The road leading from al-Faramā to Gaza is along the coast from Faramā to the headland of Ḳass which is a tongue jutting into the sea where there is a fortress inhabited by the people. They have gardens, orchards, sweet water, and sow a few crops. . . . This supports what the above-mentioned author told me. The author of the latter composed a book for 'Azīz, governor of Egypt who was in office in the year 365 H. (975–76 A.D.), and died in the year 386 H. (996 A.D.).[195]

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[190] *Ibid.*, trans., IV, 47, text, IV, 38.

[191] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 204, and trans., p. 599.

[192] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 268.

[193] Ibn Zawlāḳ, extract in Youssouf Kamal, *op. cit.*, p. 685.

[194] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 182, trans., p. 520.

[195] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 94.

An article has recently come to my notice which adds considerably to the documentation of al-Ḳass, and seems to confirm the account of Yāḳūt's "reliable Egyptian authority." See the articles by J. Clédat under the title "Note sur l'isthme de Suez," *Bull. instit. franç. d' archéol. orientale du Caire*, XXI (1922), and XXII (1923). Clédat says (XXI, 98), "Le lin pélusiaque était une des quatre principales variétés d' Egypte (quoting Pliny). Il servait à confectionner des vêtements et aussi des étoffes brochées d'or, qui faisaient l' admiration du monde entier; ces tissus se fabriquaient principalement

Yāḳūt [196] mentioned yet another city, Ḳasā, which he tried to identify as the place where those garments were made, but this does not seem to be the place intended. The passage from Ya'ḳūbī quoted earlier in this chapter, does not identify Ḳais with Ḳassī garments at all, and no doubt it is the coast city of Ḳass from which the prophet derived his Ḳassī garments.

To this little group of textile-manufacturing cities, partly Egyptian and partly Syrian, one might add al-Faramā. Mas'ūdī [197] stated that it had stuffs of every kind.

Of Djifār and El Arish, I have not found any information, supplementary to the above, but Usāma ibn Munḳidh spoke of a "handsome Gaza saddle (sardj) . . . on which my name was written along the border (dā'ir) in black. The center of it was quilted (munabbat)." [198] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw referring to the Fatimids said:

> All the saddlecloths (namad-zīn) are of Rūmī (Greek) brocade, and Būḳalamūn, which, as it is made to order, is neither cut nor sewn. An inscription bearing the name of the sultan of Egypt runs along the borders (ḥāshiya) of those saddle-cloths.[199]

The style is similar.

Part VI

ALUM, NATRON, AND INDIGO

Egypt was the center of production and trade in certain substances used in the dyeing and preparation of cloth; these, with the regulations for sale and control are set forth in several authors. Most of them seem to be derived from the early Ibn Mammātī (*ob.* 606 H. [1209 A.D.]). One of these substances was alum (shabb) of which he said:

> It is a stone which is needed in many things, the most important being dyeing. There is some demand on the part of the Byzantines (Rūm) for their requirements; for they cannot do without it nor avoid using it. The mines are in the desert of the Ṣa'īd (Upper Egypt); the custom of the Dīwān therein is to spend thirty dirhams and sometimes even less in acquiring every ḳinṭār (one hundred raṭls) of it, in Laithī ḳinṭārs. The Arabs bring it down from the mine to the riverbank of Ḳūṣ, and the riverbank of Akhmim, Suyūṭ, and Bahnasā if its sale is from the Oases (Wāḥāt). It is carried to Alexandria from whichever bank it is found upon, at the time when the (flood-) water runs into the canal leading to it. No allowance is made for the employees here, except that

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dans les ateliers de Kasios, Tinnis, et Damiette. Péluse fournissait aussi des étoffes de lin." Again he says (*ibid.*, XXII, 162): "Kasios était une ville industrielle. Elle était connue par ses fabriques d' étoffes de lin, nommées Qassiah ou Qeissiah." The author refers us to Stephen of Byzantium under *κάσιον*. Clédat describes the site as it exists today, an elevated area; he has visited the place himself and his impression of the site closely resembles that of the authority quoted by Yāḳūt. Evidently such a classical or possibly early Islamic site may be worthy of excavation. Thus, also, we see that Ḳassī stuffs belong to the same textile-group as the manufactures of Tinnīs-Damietta which I have identified with the Arabic Ḳubāṭī. The town must have been destroyed or abandoned shortly before, or in the century and a half following the Arab conquest. It may be that it was ruined on the Persian invasion of Byzantine Egypt, but that the name of the cloth persisted in early Islamic times. The second Caliph Omar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb forbade women to wear Ḳubāṭī (Coptic cloth) on the grounds according to Ibn al-Ḥādjdj (*Madkhal* [Cairo, 1933], I, 242), that "even if it is not transparent it describes (the shape of the body)." Again the same author (*loc. cit.*) says "Ḳubāṭī is fine cloth (thawb), clinging to the body on account of its fineness." It is interesting to note that these two textiles, Ḳubāṭī and Ḳassī, both of which in all probability came from the same group of factories, should come under the disapproval of the traditionalists.

Khwārizmī gives al-Ḳass and al-Nakhla on the sea between the latitude and longitude of Faramā and Gaza (*Kitāb Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, ed. H. von Mžik, p. 18). He also gives the bearing of a city, al-Ḳais (*ibid.*, p. 13).

[196] *Ibid.*, IV, 91.

[197] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.*, VIII, 20. Cf. translation by B. Carra de Vaux, *Le Livre de l'avertissement et de la revision* (Paris, 1896), p. 33.

[198] Usāma ibn Munḳidh, *op. cit.*, pp. 28–29, and *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman*, trans. by P. K. Hitti (New York, 1929), p. 54.

[199] Nāṣir-i-Khusraw, *op. cit.*, I, trans., p. 137, text, p. 46.

> which is required for the inspection of their market (matdjar). This is what is required by the precautions on the part of the Dīwān. . . . It is bought by the Laithī ķinṭār, and sold by the Djarawī ķinṭār. Formerly, there was an established sale of twelve thousand dinars to the merchants of Byzantium (Rūm), whatever surplus there was over that, being by the efforts of the employees in concert with the merchants. Its price used to vary from four, five, to six dinars and intervening prices. Whatever the merchants used to spend over and above this on account of a demand, was by the efforts of the employees. The quantity sold to the felt makers (labbād), reed-mat-makers (ḥuṣurī), and dyers (ṣabbāgh) came to eighty Djarawī ķinṭārs a year, the price being seven and one-half dinars. No one was allowed to buy it from the Arabs and come down to trade with it, but the Dīwān. If anybody was found to possess any of it, it was destroyed according to the amount, along with severe punishment. It was not customary to bring any of it to Damietta and Tinnīs, and as for the transport of it to Alexandria, there was a kind called Kawwārī (?) brought from the Oases (Wāḥāt). An estimate of one dinar and two ķīrāṭs was made for the employees for the transference of each ķinṭār of it, and that used to be carried to the place of marketing as we have related, but the demand for it was small.[200]

A parallel passage is in Maķrīzī:

> The mines of alum are in the Ṣa'īd. The Dīwān used to spend as a rule, thirty dirhams for the acquisition of a Laithī ķinṭār. The Arabs bring it from its mines to the riverbank at Akhmim, Suyūṭ, and Bahnasā, so that it can be taken to Alexandria when the Nile floods the channel to it. It was bought at the Laithī ķinṭār, and sold at the Djarawī ķinṭār. The amount of twelve thousand Djarawī ķinṭārs was sold to the Greek (Rūmī) merchants at four to six dinars a ķinṭār. About eighty Djarawī ķinṭārs were sold in Miṣr (Cairo) to the felt makers (lubūdī) and dyers at the price of six and one-half dinars the ķinṭār. Nobody else was able to buy it from the Arabs or anyone else. If it was discovered that someone had bought or sold any outside the Dīwān he was punished for an example, and all found in his possession destroyed. This has fallen into desuetude.[201]

The other substance for which Egypt has always been noted is the mineral natron. Ibn Mammātī again is very well instructed on the subject:

> This natron is found in two mines in Egypt. One of them is in the west province outside a place called Ṭarrāna, there being a river between it and that city. There are two kinds, red and green. The other mine is in Fāķūsīya, but it does not come up to the first in quality. Natron is restricted and preserved, there being no means of access to the use of it except through the employees of the Dīwān.
>
> The amount of money spent on each ķinṭār of it is two dirhams, but in the times of demand, the price of a ķinṭār reaches seventy dirhams and more. The custom established at the present day therein is that when the Dīwān expends on the employees the wage for the carrying of ten thousand ķinṭārs, they claim to collect fifteen thousand ķinṭārs, the excess there being half a ķinṭār. The contracts of the employees are made out to contract to collect that amount. The quantity of this kind required every year is thirty thousand ķinṭārs. The farmers (of the natron) must deliver it from the direction of Ṭarrāna so that the Dīwān may be secure against any shortage in weight, and the danger of loss in transit. This provision, even if it provides some protection to the Dīwān, leads to the delay of the full balance by the natron farmers, because it is a custom of theirs that when they do not take out natron they have not to deliver any money for it. They always keep delaying the taking out of the entire quantity they have to extract, or at least the major part of it so that they make a profit thereby; nor do they deliver the kind they have sold. The Arabs in truth, are safe on account of the inability of the officials to control the Wadi (Natrun) and to guard it from them so that they collect to the advantage of the farmers and the loss of the Dīwān.
>
> The farmers of natron have no customers among those who gain a livelihood by spinning. Only the bleachers (mubaiyiḍ) and the owners of furnaces (tannūr) need it, and they can only get it from them (the natron farmers). So necessity drives them to buy it from them at the above-mentioned price, in spite of the (low) sum spent on it, which is never exceeded. This department spends its money or most of it on the expenses of expeditions and the admirals of ships. Another scheme of the natron farmers is to buy a kind of it called Shūkis[202] which the bleachers need in some of their

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[200] Ibn Mammātī, *Ķawānīn al-Dawānīn* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900–1901 A.D.]), p. 23.

[201] Maķrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 109, and trans., p. 315.

[202] See the glossary to the *Ma'ālim al-Ķurba fī Aḥkām al-Ḥisba of Ibn al-Ukhuwwa,* ed. by R. Levy, G.M.S., n.s., XII.

processes. It is the custom of the officials to restrict that and to write to the governors to be on the watch for it. There are various imposts on natron. In Cairo it is sold by the Miṣrī (ḳinṭār) and in the Baḥr al-Sharḳ and the Baḥr al-Gharb by the Djarawī (ḳinṭār). Thus it is also in the Ṣa'īd, and in Damietta it is sold by the Tinnīsī (ḳinṭār).[203]

Maḳrīzī duplicates this passage in an abbreviated form:

> Natron is found in the west province of the land of Egypt in the district of Ṭarrāna. It is red and green. A quantity of rather less than that of Ṭarrāna is found at Fāḳūsīya. It is another item of the products once common to all which Ibn Mudabbir restricted and placed under the control of a Dīwān of the sultan. It has continued since then to this day. The practice of the Dīwān was to bring, each year, ten thousand ḳinṭārs of it, and the farmers were allotted the amount of 30 ḳinṭārs of it each year which they had to deliver at Ṭarrāna. In Cairo it was sold by the Miṣrī (ḳinṭār), and at the Bāb al-Sharḳ, and the Ṣa'īd (Upper Egypt) by the Djarawī ḳinṭār, and in Damietta by the Laithī ḳinṭār.
>
> The Cadi al-Fāḍil (the dates intended here are between the years 567–94 H. [1171–97 A.D.],[204] said: "Until the end of the year 585 H. (1189 A.D.) the Department of Natron was farmed for the sum of 15,500 dinars. In the year 586 H. (1190 A.D.) the sum of 7,800 dinars was produced." We have seen that the natron was given as fiefs to a number of soldiers. When the emir Mahmud ibn Ali became steward and comptroller of the state in the reign of al-Ẓāhir Barḳūḳ he monopolised the natron for which he made a market and it was not allowed to be sold elsewhere. Thus it is to this day."[205]

Of Ahmed ibn Muhammad ibn Mudabbir, Maḳrīzī said: "He invented all kinds of vexations which increased after him instead of diminishing. He restricted natron and appropriated the revenue, though previously anyone could take it."[206] Ibn Iyās[207] gave the date of this restriction as 250 H. (846 A.D.)

Egypt with parts of Africa, India, Palestine, and southeastern Persia was one of the sources of the supply of indigo to the Muslim world. Various authors, such as Ibn 'Awwām[208] describe the cultivation, and the *Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra*[209] gives an account of how it and also saffron and brazilwood (baḳḳam), are treated. 'Abd al-Laṭīf[210] said that indigo is abundant in Egypt, though inferior to that of India, (fourteenth century). Maḳrīzī knew that "indigo (nīla) is sown from Bashans onwards. The sowing is a waiba to the feddan (acre). It ripens in Abīb."[211] According to Ḳalḳashandī, "the tax on indigo is three dinars on every feddan."[212]

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[203] Ibn Mammātī, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[204] See Guest, *op. cit.*, pp. 103 ff.

[205] Maḳrīzī, Khiṭaṭ, text, I, 109, trans., *op. cit.*, p. 315.

For Ṭarrāna, see P. Ravaisse, *Zoubdat Kachf al-Mamâlik . . . par Khalil aḍ-Ḍâhiry* (Paris, 1894), p. 35.

[206] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 103, trans., p. 298.

[207] Ibn Iyās, L. Langlès, *op. cit.*, VIII (1810), 30.

[208] Ibn 'Awwām, *Le Livre de l'agriculture d'Ibn al-Awam* (*Kitab al-felahah*), trans. by J. J. Clément-Mullet (Paris, 1864–67), II, 297.

[209] Dja'far ibn Ali al-Dimashḳī, *al-Ishāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900 A.D.]), p. 21.

[210] 'Abd al-Laṭīf, *Relation de l'Egypte par Abd-Allatif, médecin arabe de Bagdad* (Paris, 1810), p. 36.

[211] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, text, I, 103, trans., p. 295.

[212] Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, III, 453.

CHAPTER XVII*

TEXTILES AND THE ṬIRĀZ IN SPAIN

According to Ibn Khaldūn, during the rule of the Umayyads, and that of the minor dynasties which rose on the ruins of their domination, the ṭirāz-system found its way to Spain. There are two other authors to support this statement. *Al-Bayān al-Mughrib* [1] informs us that " 'Abd al-Raḥmān innovated the ṭirāz-factories, and expanded their manufacture, and stamped coinage in Cordova." (Map 14) While Suyūṭī,[2] speaking of the 'Abd al-Raḥmān who succeeded in the year 206 H. (821 A.D.), says: "In his reign, the wearing of embroidered garments (libs muṭarraz) was first introduced, and Spanish dirhams were struck."

Ibn Ḥawḳal [3] is able to assure us (367 H. [978 A.D.]) that "in Andalus there is more than one ṭirāz-factory, the products of which go to Egypt (Miṣr) and sometimes some are taken to the utmost limits of Khurasan and elsewhere." In the preceding chapter, these Spanish textiles have been noticed among the lists of gifts of the Fatimid rulers to their employees. For instance a piece (shiḳḳa) of Andalusian siḳlāṭūn is cited as one of the articles of clothing regularly given away at the Feast of the Breaking of the Fast,[4] and again furnishings of Djahram and Andalusian carpets (busuṭ) are mentioned at their court (518 H. [1124 A.D.]). Thus in the intervening period between 'Abd al-Raḥmān and Ibn Ḥawḳal, the textile industries of Spain must have made progress, for in the earlier works there is little mention of the country.

If we are to judge by the following passage of Maḳḳarī,[5] Spain was a somewhat backward country and it was the eastern culture which so influenced an industry which ultimately exported its wares not only to the primitive Europe of the day, but also to the great Muslim capitals of the east. In 206 H. (821 A.D.), the singer Ziryāb came from Iraq to settle in Cordova. He was already a personage of some note in his profession, and being soon taken into favor, he introduced many fashions from the polite world of Baghdad into this remote province of Islam:

> The people of Andalus learnt from him to use vessels of fine glass, in preference to those of gold and silver, and to use coverings (farsh) of leather mats

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* I should like here, in the final installment of this work, to take the opportunity of thanking Dr. Richard Ettinghausen for his assistance in putting it into print, assistance which has far exceeded the normal functions of an editor. During the war, when circumstances made it extremely difficult to continue any academic work, Dr. Ettinghausen rewrote all the footnotes to Part I of this study, looking up and checking the references; it was this laborious and boring task which enabled me to rewrite the remaining footnotes in their present form. I should also like to thank him for his untiring patience in dealing with an overseas contributor under the trying conditions of wartime, and his unflagging care for accuracy and detail.

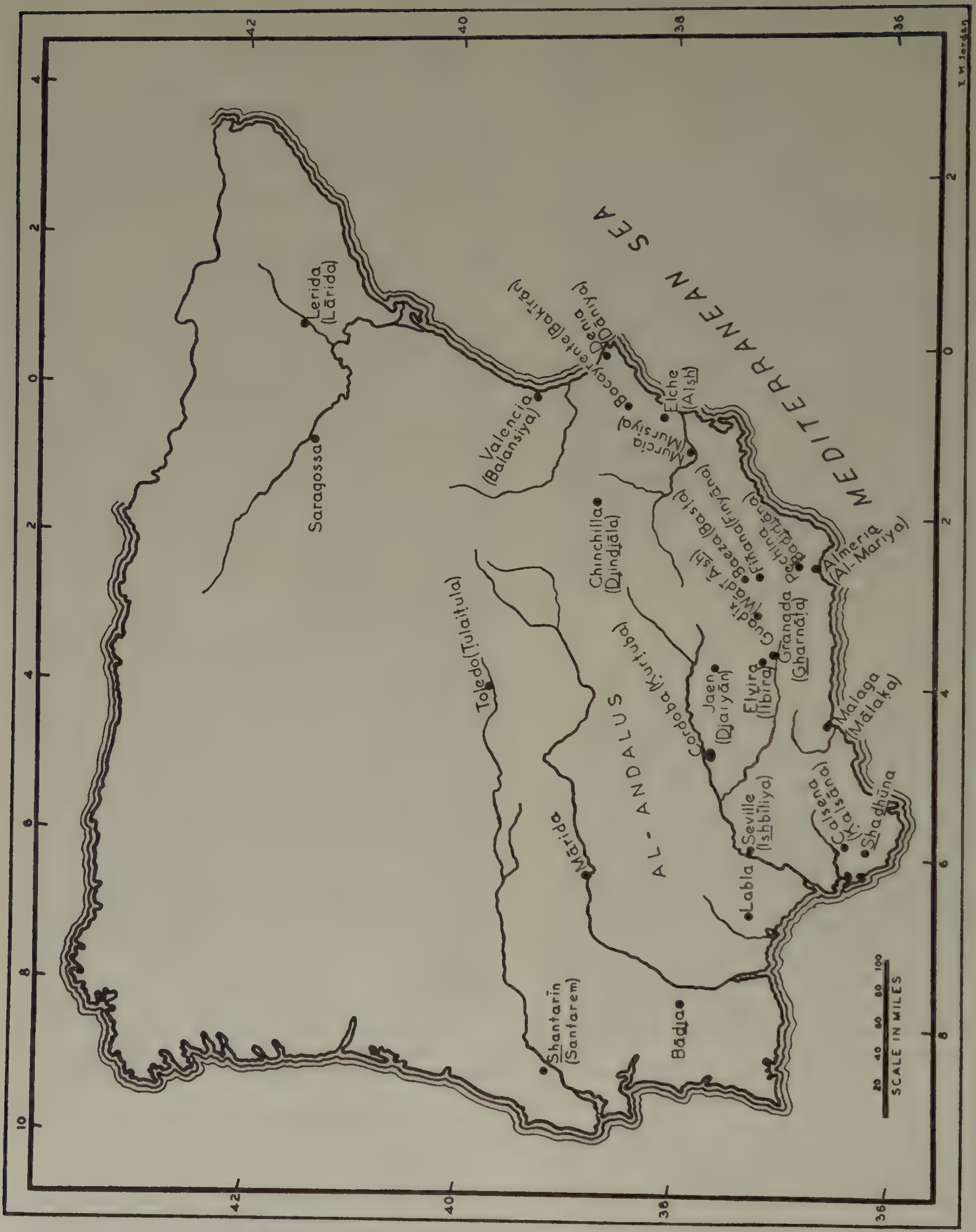
[1] Ibn 'Adhārī, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne. . . . Al-Bayano 'l-Mogrib,* ed. R. P. A. Dozy (Leyden, 1848–51), II, 93.

[2] Al-Suyūṭī, *Ta'rīkh al-Khulafā',* trans. by H. S. Jarret (Calcutta, 1881), p. 547, ed. S. Lee and Maulawi 'Abdalḥaqq (Calcutta, 1857), p. 539.

[3] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum,* ed. by J. H. Kramers, 2d ed. (Leyden, 1938–39), p. 110.

[4] Maḳrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]), I, 427 and 474.

[5] Maḳḳarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagne,* ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855–61), II, 88. See H. G. Farmer, "Ziryāb," *Encycl. Islām* (Leyden, 1913–38), Suppl. pp. 266–67.


MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AL-ANDALUS
Lerida (Lārida)
Saragossa
Valencia (Balansiya)
Bocayrente (Bakīrān)
Denia (Dāniya)
Elche (Alsh)
Murcia (Mursiya)
Chinchilla (Djindjāla)
Toledo (Tulaitula)
Cordoba (Kurtuba)
Jaen (Djaiyān)
Baeza (Baiyāsa)
Fiñana (Finyāna)
Pechina (Badjdjāna)
Almeria (Al-Mariya)
Guadix (Wadi-Ash)
Granada (Gharnāta)
Elvira (Ilbira)
Malaga (Mālaka)
Seville (Ishbīliya)
Calsena (Kalsāna)
Shadhūna
Labla
Mārida
Shantarīn (Santarem)
Badja
20 40 60 80 100
SCALE IN MILES
42
40
38
36
4
2
0
2
4
6
8
10
E. M. Jordan

Map 14—Muslim Textile Centers in Spain. (Spanish Names Are Given First, Arab Names in Parentheses) (anṭā'), soft and pliable, instead of covers (milḥaf) of linen, and his choice of leather for setting food upon, rather than wooden tables, because grease can be removed from leather with the lightest rubbing.

At different times of the year, he introduced certain changes of clothing for the man of fashion:

> For he thought that people should begin to wear white clothing and leave off colored garments from the day of Mihradjān of that country, called by them 'Anṣara, which is on the sixth day before the end of June . . . and that they should wear it until the first of the month of October . . . and for the remainder of the year, they should wear colored garments. He was of the opinion too, that in the season between summer and winter (which they call Rabī'), they should wear dyed clothes, of such kinds as gowns (djubba) of khazz-silk, mulḥam-stuff, and silken cloth (muḥarrar), and shirts (durrā'a) without linings, because they were close to the time when they would be permitted to enjoy clothes of a white exterior. They used to change into these latter on account of their lightness and contrast with the coarse clothes (or padded stuffs miḥshā) worn by the vulgar. He was of the opinion too that, towards the end of summer and the beginning of autumn, they should wear coarse garments (miḥshā) of Merv, garments of a single color (muṣmat), and light colored clothes with padding and thick linings of a similar kind when the cold was very sharp in the mornings, until it grew very cold so that they had to change into thick clothing with the added protection of fur when needed.

These mulḥam garments were especially famous under the Caliph al-Mutawakkil in Baghdad about half a century later.[6] The name Merv as applied to the stuffs here, has probably nothing to do with the city of that name, but is merely used as a description of the kind of cloth in a very loose sense.

Al-Bayān al-Mughrib[7] supplies the first details of the spread of the system. In the year 313 H. (925 A.D.), in the time of the Caliph al-Nāṣir, "the page, Khalaf the elder, was put in charge of the ṭirāz." Though not directly connected with the history of the ṭirāz-system in Spain, it might be interesting to set forth a catalogue of textiles in a gift made to al-Nāṣir in 327 H. (939 A.D.). Makkarī[8] copied out this list from two authors, Ibn Khaldūn, and Ibn al-Faradī, and they vary quite considerably.

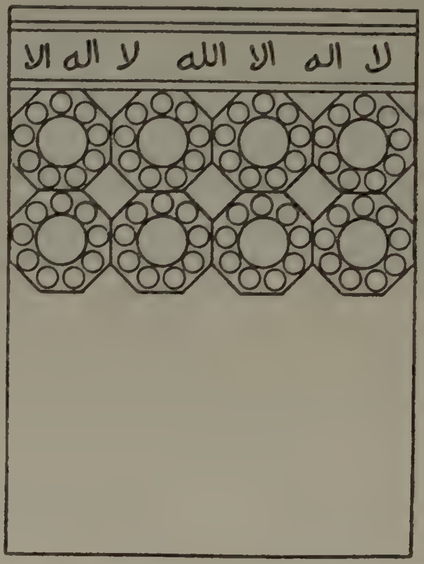


FIG. 1—RECONSTRUCTION OF PATTERN

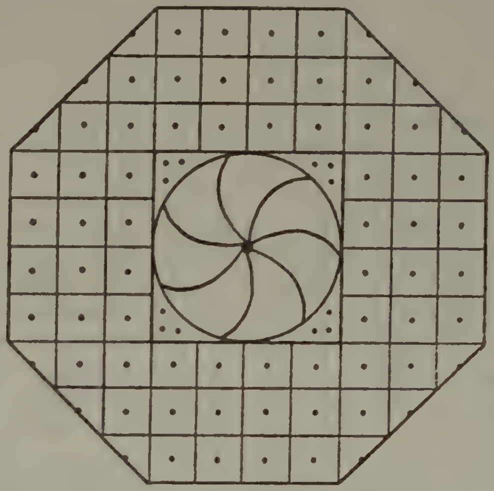


FIG. 2—SCHEME OF ROOF OF DOME OF THE ROCK

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[6] See Chapter II.

[7] Ibn 'Adhārī, *op. cit.*, text, II, 203, trans. by E. Fagnan (Alger, 1901–4), II, 315.

[8] Makkarī, *op. cit.*, I, 229 ff.

Ibn Khaldūn	Ibn al-Faraḍī
Thirty pieces (shiḳḳa) of silk (ḥarīr), checked (mukhattam)[9] inscribed (marḳūm) with gold, for the wearing of caliphs, of various colors and manufactures.	Thirty pieces (shiḳḳa) of different kinds of garments, and royal Kh n dj[10] stuff for his wear both white and colored, and five royal (khāṣṣī) Shu'aibī tunics (ẓihāra) for him.
Ten furs of the valuable marten (fanak) skins of Khurasan.	Ten furs of expensive marten, seven being white from Khurasan and three colored.
	Six Iraq royal miṭraf-cloaks for him.
	Forty-eight Zahrī milḥaf-mantles for his apparel (kiswa).
	One hundred Zahrī coverlets[11] (milḥafa) for his bed.
Ten ḳinṭārs of bundles containing a hundred sable-skins.	Ten ḳinṭārs of bundles containing a hundred sable (sammūr) skins.
Six Iraq tents (surādiḳ). Forty-eight Baghdad milḥaf-covers for the trappings for his horses, of silk and gold.	
Four thousand raṭls of spun silk.	Idem (ḥarīr maghzūl).
A thousand raṭls of a kind of pure silk for weaving.	Idem.
	Concerning the aforementioned silk Ibn al-Faraḍī adds that he derived this from the Ṣāḥib al-ṭirāz, and he did not bring it with the present, but merely gave it to the Ṣāḥib al-ṭirāz (controller of the ṭirāz-factories) who entered it in his accounts.
Thirty pieces of buzyūn silk[12] (a kind of brocade) for saddles, for gifts.	
Thirty woollen carpets (bisāṭ) of different manufactures, each being of a length of 20 dhirā' of various colors.	Thirty wollen carpets of different manufactures, each being a length of 20 dhirā'.
A hundred pieces (ḳiṭ'a) of prayer-carpets (muṣallayāt) of various different kinds of carpeting	A hundred pieces of prayer carpets of various kinds of carpeting, manufactures of a kind of large carpets (busuṭ).
Fifteen carpet-strips (nakhkh) half of them made of cut (maḳṭū') khazz-silk.	Fifteen carpet-strips, half of them made of cut khazz-silk, the rest of them consisting of carpets (busuṭ) of different kinds.
Saddles of Dja'farī khazz-silk.	Saddles of Iraq khazz-silk.

This list may serve to show the widespread interchange of goods in the Muslim world at this time. It is surprising to find furs coming all the way from Khurasan, especially as Spain itself was famous as fur-producing country. The Dja'farī stuffs may be called after the Dja'farī gold, i.e., pure gold, which was used in them.[13]

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[9] Ibn Djubair, *The Travels of Ibn Djubair*, ed. W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1907), V, 191. Here curtains are described which were "lapis-lazuli (lāzwardī) in color, checked (mukhattam) with white checks (khātam), both octagonal and quadrilateral (muthamman, murabba'). Inside the checks there were round circles and white dots (nuḳṭa) surrounding it. . . . On the top there was an inscription (rasm) inclining to white." Figure 1 is the suggested pattern of such a curtain. This seems to contain the Sasanian pearl-pattern. See N. A. Reath and E. B. Sachs, *Persian Textiles and their Technique* (New Haven, 1937), pp. 44, 46, 48, 49. Ibn Djubair describes these mukhattam stuffs as being similar to the roof of the Dome of the Rock (*Fig. 2*).

[10] Read nakhakh or Kandjī ? See Chapter XVI, II, footnote 22.

[11] This type of stuff figures elsewhere.

[12] Reading thus with the footnote.

[13] *Ta'ríkh-i-Guzída* of Hamdu'lláh Mustawfí

Maḳḳarī[14] tells us, too, that under the rule of the vigorous and ambitious minister Manṣūr ibn Abī Āmir (366–93 H. [976–1002 A.D.]), in whose hands lay the real power, "Hishām the Mu'aiyad was not left with any more insignia of the caliphate other than the prayer in his name on the mimbars, and the inscription of his name on the coinage, and the ṭirāz-strips." Curiously enough, a piece of cloth with his name has been preserved for us, cited by A. Grohmann in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām.*[15]

The same author[16] also informs us that, after a victorious campaign, Manṣūr gave away to the Christian princes and the Muslims who had helped him "two thousand two hundred and eighty-five pieces of various kinds of ṭirāzī silk (shiḳḳa), twenty-one pieces of sea-wool (ṣūf al-baḥr), two 'anbarī (perfumed with ambergris) robes, eleven pieces of siḳlāṭūn, fifteen of striped stuff (muraiyash), seven carpets (namaṭ) of brocade, two garments of Rūmī brocade, and two marten (fanak) furs (387 H. [997 A.D.])."

The first ṭirāz in Spain must have been that which was attached to the palace of the Umayyad 'Abd al-Raḥmān (206 H. [821 A.D.] in Cordova, but in such works as I have read, I have not been fortunate enough to come across any references to it. This may be due to the fact that Almeria soon outstripped Cordova in its manufactures according to a passage of Yāḳūt which will be cited in discussing the former city. That it did make cloth is evident for Ibn Ḥawḳal[17] says: "Travellers who have been to Baghdad say that it (Cordova) is like one of the sides of Baghdad," and "It has excellent garments, and robes of soft linen, excellent khazz-silk and ḳazz-silk." We do know too that al-Ḥakam II employed skilled workmen in transcribing books and binding them in his palace which would also imply the existence of further manufactures.

One of the first industrial cities of the Iberian peninsula was Almeria (Al-Marīya) renowned throughout Islam for its textiles. Some brief indication of its exports to the Christian countries may be found in Maḳḳarī[18]

> There was a station for Christian ships there, and a place of assembly for their government (dīwān), and from thence, their merchandise use to go to other countries. . . . It was also a factory (maṣna') for the making of precious cloaks of figured silk (ḥulal muwashshā). . . . There was a manufacture of brocade there which no other country could surpass, and an arsenal (dār al-ṣanā'a). . . . A certain person said: "In Almeria there were 800 looms (nawl) for the weaving of ṭirāzī garments of silk (ḥarīr), and for precious cloaks (ḥulla), and splendid brocade a thousand looms, and the same number for siḳlāṭūn, and for Djurdjānī garments, Iṣfahānī stuffs, 'Attābī, and marvellous veils (mi'djar), and curtains ornamented with precious stones (sutūr mukallala)." A certain person said: "There was no people in the land of Andalus richer than the inhabitants of Almeria nor with larger places for trading, and stores. The number of baths and hostelries (funduḳ) there came to about a thousand."[19]

Maḳḳarī, in part at least, uses the same sources as al-Ḥimyarī:[20]

> Almeria was at the time of the Almoravids the town of Andalus (which had the widest relations

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Persian text, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1911), XIV, 277. Abridged trans. by E. G. Browne and R. A. Nicholson (Leyden-London, 1914), p. 55, says; "Dja'far (the vizier of Harun al-Rashid) ordered that they should coin refined gold and silver, for previously they had struck base coinage; zar Dja'farī (Dja'farī gold) was called after him."

[14] Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.,* II, 258.

[15] See "Ṭirāz," *Encyl. Islām,* Supp., p. 249, and J. F. Riano, *The Industrial Arts in Spain* (London, 1875).

[16] Maḳḳarī, *op cit.,* I, 271.

[17] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* pp. 111 and 113.

[18] Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.,* II, 148.

[19] *Ibid,* I, 102.

[20] Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-Mi'ṭār La Péninsule Ibérique au Moyen-Âge,* ed. and trans. by E. Lévi-Provencal (Leyden, 1938), text, p. 184, trans., p. 222.

with the rest of the Muslim world); there were to be found there the most striking productions of craftmanship. For the weaving of silk, it had 800 ṭirāz-factories. They made cloth there such as cloaks (ḥulla), brocades, siḳlāṭūn, Iṣfahānī, Djurdjānī, curtains with vertical bands (sutūr mukallala),[21] stuffs with patterns of circles (? mu'aiyan), the cloth called 'Attābī, and that which is called fākhir, in short all kinds of silk stuffs.

Al-Dimashḳī[22] writes: "It was frequented by merchants who went there to buy silk, and the tissues that were woven there. The inhabitants retired to Granada under the Almoravid dynasty" which captured it some time after the year 484 H. (1091 A.D.). Idrīsī's[23] account may be the source on which these previous extracts are founded:

> There were to be found there (in the time of the Almoravids) all wonderful kinds of crafts, and they counted among others, eight hundred factories (ṭirāz) for silk (ḥarīr) where they made precious mantles (ḥulla), brocades, siḳlāṭūn, Iṣfahānī, Djurdjānī, curtains ornamented with precious stones (sutūr mukallala), cloth with patterns of circles,[24] small mats (khumra), 'Attābī, veils (mi'djar), and various other kinds of silk cloths. . . . Ships used to come to Almeria from Alexandria and Syria. . . . At the time when we are writing the present work (548 H. [1154 A.D.]) Almeria has fallen into the power of the Christians. Its comeliness has disappeared, the inhabitants have been enslaved, the houses and public buildings have been destroyed, and there is nothing left.

Yāḳūt[25] differs but little, mentioning that it is a noted port for ships:

> Merchants sail from it, and their ships anchor there. It is a place of call, and a seaport for ships and vessels, against the walls of which the waves dash. Figured washī-stuff and brocade of excellent manufacture are made there. This was first made in Cordova but then Almeria outstripped it. In the land of Andalus there is not to be found a people who make more excellent brocade than those of Almeria.

Almeria actually fell into the hands of the Christians for the first time in the year 542 H. (1147 A.D.), but was retaken by the Almoravids in 552 H. (1157 A.D.). The Christians did not recover it again until 1489 A.D. Thus the passage of Idrīsī must refer to contemporary events, as he wrote three years before its reconquest.

Ḥimyarī[26] preserves an early item of information: "There were in the city of Badjdjāna (Pechina) eleven baths, and factories (ṭirāz) for the manufacture of silk (ḥarīr) as well as prosperous trade." Pechina was later supplanted by its neighbor Almeria to which the inhabitants soon migrated. In the time of Idrīsī it was already in ruins, and as early as Ibn Ḥawḳal, Almeria was the capital of the province.

Another town in the system was Finyāna (the modern Fiñana), in which according to Ḥimyarī[27] "there were factories (ṭirāz) for brocade stuffs." Ibn al-Khaṭīb[28] remarks that it is noted for its silk culture.

As might be expected, Seville (Ishbīlīya) was also a famous weaving center of Spain.

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[21] I have kept this rendering of the phrase sutūr mukallala which varies from the rendering of Maḳḳarī given above.

[22] Al-Dimashḳī, *Manuel de la Cosmographie du Moyen Âge,* trans. by A. F. Mehren (Copenhagen, 1874), p. 346.

[23] Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne,* ed. and trans. by R. P. A. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), text, p. 197.

[24] The text has mu'aiyab, but the reading mu'aiyan is preferable here.

[25] Yāḳūt, *Mu'djam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. by F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), IV, 517. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān,* ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 177, trans. (Paris, 1847–83), I, 254, also mentions its silks. Cf. Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]) V, 217, on the authority of the *Masālik al-Abṣār* of 'Umarī.

[26] Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 38, trans., p. 49.

[27] *Ibid.,* text, p. 144, trans., p. 172.

[28] Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Descripcion del reino de Granada,* trans. by F. J. Simonet (Madrid, 1860), p. 20.

The first hint of the existence of a ṭirāz-factory there is to be found in *al-Bayān al-Mug̲h̲rib.*[29] Ibrahīm ibn al-Ḥad̲j̲d̲j̲ād̲j̲ revolted against the Umayyad Caliph ʿAbd Allāh ibn Muhammad ibn ʿAbd al-Raḥmān in the year 286 H. (899 A.D.). Our author informs us that "there were at Seville, factories (ṭirāz) where his name was embroidered on the stuffs, just as the sultan used to do at that time." It is quite likely that these factories were established by the Umayyad ʿAbd al-Raḥmān himself, but of course they may have been introduced by Ibrahīm. This monarch built an arsenal there to protect Seville against the attacks of the Normans, and he may have established a factory at the same time.

Ḥimyarī[30] tells us that cotton grows well there. Not only does the output suffice for the needs of the whole of Andalus, but the merchants send it as far as Ifrīḳīya, Sid̲j̲ilmāsa, and the neighboring countries. Maḳḳarī knew it chiefly by its steel, but adds that its manufactures are too many to mention. It was the ʿAbbādite capital from 414 H. (1023 A.D.) until 484 H. (1091 A.D.) but once more became a provincial city and finally passed into the hands of the Christians in 646 H. (1248 A.D.).

Maḳḳarī[31] quotes it several times for its famous dye-stuffs:

> The best crimson (ḳirmiz) is the ḳirmiz of Andalus, and the most of that is in the districts of Seville, Labla, S̲h̲ad̲h̲ūna, and Valencia. From Andalus it is taken to all quarters. . . . In it (Seville) is collected the ḳirmiz which is of brighter hue than the Indian lac (al-lakk al-Hindī).[32] . . . In Andalus one of the dusts which descends from the heavens is the ḳirmiz which descends upon the oak-tree, and the inhabitants collect it from the time of intense heat,[33] and dye with it, and the red color which no red can surpass is produced from it.[34]

As early as the second century of the Muslim era, D̲j̲āḥiẓ[35] tells us that this crimson is found in a district in the Maghreb in the land of Andalus, and that only a sect of the Jews knew how to find it. It was collected in the season of Māh-Isfandārmud̲h̲.

R. Pfister,[36] examining a number of Egyptian textiles found that this lac-dye was used in about equal quantities with madder, supplies of which had become hard to obtain in Egypt. Though it seems to have been so common, lac-dye is rarely mentioned in Arab authors. An extract from Bīrūnī (973 H. [1048 A.D.]) on this lakk, is however cited by Pfister:

> C'est une gomme qui est générale sur un arbre jusqu' à couvrir le bois entièrement, et il y a comme des croûtes (ḳirif, ce qui désigne les excrétions sèches du nez). Après l'avoir cuit, et en avoir sorti une matière colorante on l'appelle al-lakk; avec cela on teint les peaux qu'on appelle al-lakka.

Bīrūnī cites the words of Ibn Māsawaih (a doctor) at the court of Baghdad who died in 243 H. (857 A.D.) and he knew it as a drug, but does not mention it as a dye.

Another notice of some interest is to be found in the *ʿIḳd al-D̲j̲umān* of al-ʿAinī (ob. 855 H. [1451 A.D.])[37] who tells us that

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[29] Ibn ʿAd̲h̲ārī, *op. cit.*, text, II, 130, trans., II, 208.

[30] Ibn ʿAbd al-Munʿim al-Ḥimyarī, *op cit.*, text, p. 21, trans., p. 27. In the rest of this chapter this author's name will be cited briefly as al-Ḥimyarī.

[31] Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.* I, 90.

[32] *Ibid.*, I, 128.

[33] I prefer to understand this word as a season, and not as a kind of fig as R. Dozy suggests. Cf. the passage of D̲j̲āḥiẓ which follows immediately.

[34] Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, I, 123.

[35] D̲j̲āḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi-'l-Tid̲j̲āra," ed. by Ḥasan H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Rev. de l'Acad. Arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 339.

[36] R. Pfister, "Matériaux pour servir au classement des textiles égyptiens postérieurs à la conquête arabe," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, X (1936), 6. He quotes Dr. Meyerhof in a private communication. This passage is from the *Kitāb al-Ṣaidala fi 'l-Ṭibb* (see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der Arabischen Litteratur* [Weimar-Berlin, 1898–1902], I, 874–5). The article has many other interesting notes on dyes.

[37] *Homenajé a D. Francisco Codera*, con una in-

"they extract from a mine about a parasang away from Seville, a powder which is used instead of indigo and is only found in this part of Spain, whence it is exported for the use of dyers."

Malaga (Mālaḳa) too had its ṭirāz-factory, though not so famous as that of Almeria or Seville. Yāḳūt [38] knew that the city was famous for its cotton which was exported all over Andalus. Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb (713–76 H. [1313–74 A.D.]) knew that the "cloaks (ḥulla) of its brocade are the wonderful articles with the ṭirāz-borders (taṭrīz)." [39] But it is the voluminous Maḳḳarī [40] who fills the gap in our information:

> In it are woven the cloaks of figured silk (al-ḥulal al-maws̲h̲īya), the prices of which run into thousands. They have marvelous pictures (ṣūra) of a choice kind, with the names of the Caliphs and others (inscribed) upon them. Its coast is a trading-centre for the Muslims and Christians.

As an indication of the commercial importance of Malaga, it might be added that he claims that figs are exported thence to India and China. Though this might be one of those superb pieces of hyperbole in which oriental authors sometimes indulge when they wish to describe the excellence of any particular article, yet it may be fact. Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī [41] on the authority of the *Masālik al-Abṣār* says that "in its provinces, much silk is found."

Of Basṭa, the modern Baeza in the province of Granada, Ḥimyarī [42] says: "There are on its territory many mulberry-trees (tūt) with a production of silk. . . . It is at Basṭa that the ṭirāz-factories are to be found for Basṭa carpets (al-wiṭā' al-Basṭī) made of brocade, which has no known equal." Yāḳūt [43] informs us that "to it are attributed the Basṭī prayer-carpets (muṣallayāt)." Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb [44] only knew it as famous for its preparation of saffron which, according to Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī [45] supplied the whole of Andalus.

Through the *Treatise on Ḥisba* ("Police-Regulations") of al-Saḳaṭī of Malaga, a work composed in the eleventh-twelfth century, we can form some notion of how general the custom of wearing ṭirāzī garments was. A certain man had bought a slave-girl at Cordova, then the capital of Andalus (until the end of the fourth [tenth] century), and "he clothed her in a robe of brocade, and with a robe of ṭirāzī silk, which the women of the Persians (? A'ād̲j̲im) used to wear at that time." [46] Besides this he gives an injunction to the Muḥtasib or officer of police: [47] "The Muḥtasib must prevent the weavers of ṭirāz from changing the inscription (rasm) on a robe at the fuller's, on account of the well-known practice of disreputable persons."

This passage is more easily understood in the light of the following extract from the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba:* [48]

> Repairers (raffā') may not repair a k̲h̲azz-silk garment received from a fuller or cloth-beater (daḳḳāḳ) except in the owner's presence. Embroiderers (muṭarriz) and ornament-stitchers (raḳḳām) must not transfer embroidery (raḳm) from one garment

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troducción de D. E. Saavedra (Zaragoza, 1904), p. 464.

[38] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* I, 275.

[39] Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *op. cit.,* p. 5. See M. J. Müller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der westlichen Araber* (München, 1876), I, 5. Cf. Brockelmann, *op. cit.,* II, 260. Taṭrīz may simply mean "embroidery" here.

[40] Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.,* II, 148, and I, 95.

[41] Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *op. cit.,* V, 219.

[42] Al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 45, trans., p. 57.

[43] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* I, 624.

[44] Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *op. cit.,* p. 16.

[45] Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *op. cit.,* V, 221.

[46] Al-Saḳaṭī, *Un Manuel hispanique de Ḥisba,* ed. by G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (Paris, 1931), *Publ. de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines,* XXI, 54 and 63.

[47] *Ibid., loc. cit.*

[48] Ibn al-Uk̲h̲uwwa, *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba,* ed. R. Levy, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1938), n.s., XII, No. 174.

to another which fullers or cloth-beaters bring them. . . . On each garment, the owner's name must be written.

These passages seem to refer to the pieces of embroidered braid stuck on to the cloth by sewing, though separate in themselves.

A number of very pretty verses used in the ṭirāz-bands by girls and lovers were known to the Spanish anthologist Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi[49] in the first half of the tenth century of the Christian era.

OTHER CITIES

Besides the imposing list of ṭirāz-cities—Cordova, Almeria, Basṭa, Finyāna, Seville, Malaga—all situated in the south of Spain, there was a flourishing industry in many other cities, though probably for the most part in private hands.

The passage from Djāḥiẓ, concerning the ḳirmiz-dye in Spain has been cited supra, and it is interesting to notice that it was during his lifetime that ṭirāzī garments were introduced into Spain. Ibn al-Faḳīh (290 H./903 A.D.) counts Andalusian cloaks (ḥulla) among the wonderful things that are only to be obtained by the venturesomeness of merchants[50] and Abu 'l-Ḳāsim[51] speaks of "rooms carpeted with mats (zullīya) of the Maghreb" and "carpet-strips (nakhkh) of Andalus and Cordova." Iṣṭakhrī[52] informs us that: "Most of the things which come from it are Maghribī felts, riding-mules, ambergris, gold, honey, olive-oil, ships, silk, Maghribī saddle-cloths (namad) and the sable (sammūr)."

The extent and fame of the manufactures of Andalus in the fourth (tenth) century may be gauged by the details supplied to us by Ibn Ḥawḳal:[53]

> In Andalus are to be found mercury, iron, lead (raṣāṣ), and with regard to wool, there are pieces (ḳiṭ'a) which resemble the best kind of Armenian carpets in relief (maḥfūr) of high price, ranging to the beautiful sur-carpets (namaṭ) made there. Concerning the wool (ṣūf) and the dyeing of it, and those things which they dye, they have marvelous stuff in the herbs (ḥashīsh), peculiar to Andalus, with which the Maghribī felts (lubūd) of high quality and price are dyed, as well as silk and whatever colors of khazz-silk, and ḳazz-silk they desire.
>
> Brocade is exported thence, and no people on the face of the earth can equal them in the manufactures of their felts. Sometimes, "thirty felts" (lubūd thalāthīnīya) are made for their sultan, a single one of which is valued at fifty and sixty dinars, without their breadth being more than five or six spans (shibr), for they are the loveliest of cloths (fursh). In their country soft silk and close-woven (al-khazz al-sakb[54]) is made which exceeds that which is made for the Sultan of Iraq. There is a waxed (mushamma') variety of it which prevents the rain from wetting the wearer.

He notes too that the prices in the province are very low and then continues:

> In the provinces of their country cheap linen for robes is made and exported to many places, much even going to Egypt (Miṣr). As for their robes made in Pechina, they are taken to Miṣr, Mecca, Yemen, and other places. Linen is made in their country for the people, and the sultan which is in no way inferior to Dabīḳī of the compact and the fine soft kind of the sharb variety, and it equals the excellent Shaṭā kind.

Maḳdisī[55] remarks: "From Andalus there comes a great deal of cloth (bazz), specialties and rareties."

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[49] Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 370 f.

[50] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1885), V, 50.

[51] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim*, ed. A. Mez (Heidleberg, 1902), p. 36.

[52] Iṣṭakhrī, *Viae regnorum* . . . ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I.

[53] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

[54] See Chapter III. This is a term applied to Kufan stuffs.

[55] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 239.

Maḳḳarī has extracted a passage from Ibn Saʿīd (ob. 673 H./1274 A.D.) which shows Andalus at the height of its industrial activity:[56]

> Ibn Saʿīd said: "The articles manufactured in Andalus are to be preferred above all others, and local patriots talk at length about them. For Almeria, Murcia, and Malaga are particularly famous for their gold figured silks (was͟hī mud͟hahhab), the beautiful fabric of which is a source of admiration to the people of the East when they see a piece of it. In Tantāla of the district of Murcia the carpets (busuṭ) which are sold at so high a price in the East, are made. In Granada and Basṭa the variety of silken garments (al-libās al-muḥarrar) called mulabbad, muk͟hattam (checked stuff), with pleasing colors is manufactured. In Murcia too are made inlaid seats (asirra muraṣṣaʿa), charmingly contrived reed-mats (ḥuṣur), articles of brass and iron (ṣufr wa-ḥadīd), such as knives, gilded scissors (amḳāṣ mud͟hahhaba), and various other articles for the bride and soldier, which astound the senses (by their beauty). These types of articles are despatched thence to the land of Africa and other places."

The most instructive source for the other cities is Ḥimyarī who wrote *al-Rawḍ al-Miʿṭār*.[57] The book, as it now stands, seems to be the recension of an earlier work of uncertain date, but which, since it does not give any historical details beyond the latter half of the seventh century H., was probably written about that time. The author uses earlier sources and the book contains information not to be found elsewhere. The question of dating has been fully discussed by the editor in the preface.

Of the Sierra Nevada (S͟hulair), he[58] says: "The little towns which are round about it produce the most excellent silk (ḥarīr), and linen which is superior to that of the Faiyum." The Wādī Ās͟h (or As͟hs͟h according to Yāḳūt,[59] the modern Guadix on the north side of this range, was noted for the quantity of the ibrīsm-silk which was produced, while Ḥimyarī[60] says that cotton grows there in great quantities. Ibn al-K͟haṭīb[61] knows it as a place for silk (ḥarīr). To the south of the range, Andarās͟h (Andarax), a little town, dependent on Almeria, is noticed by Yāḳūt:[62] "The surpassingly fine linen is named after it." Ḥimyarī does not seem to have heard of this, but Ibn al-K͟haṭīb[63] says that its silk is gold.

A day's march away from Almeria was Ḥiṣn S͟hins͟h in the Wādī Ṭabarnas͟h. Maḳḳarī[64] says: "Its territory abounds in mulberry-trees and silk and ḳirmiz (crimson) are to be found there." Of Elvira (Ilbīra) Yāḳūt[65] says: "In all its districts linen and splendid silk are made." While Ḥimyarī[66] remarks: "The silk coming from the plain of Elvira is that which is spread abroad in the country, and exported everywhere. As for the flax which is cultivated, it is of a superior quality to that of the Nile valley and the harvest is so plentiful that it is exported to the most distant Muslim countries." It was probably due to the fact that Elvira began to decline about 400 H. (1010 A.D.), as the result of a Berber rebellion, that records of it are so scanty.

Dimas͟hḳī (ob. 727 H. [1327 A.D.]) adds Jaen to our list:[67] "In the eastern part of Andalus is situated the district of Jaen (D͟jaiyān), called also Ḳinniṣrīn, with the capital Madīna al-Ḥāḍira which produces much silk." Maḳḳarī,[68] too, informs us that "it is called D͟jaiyān al-Ḥarīr (D͟jaiyān of the silk) because of the extensive rearing of the silk-worm (dūd al-ḥarīr) in the plain of Jaen and the vicinity." He also remarks that Baeza, which lies in the sphere of its control, grew and exported a great deal of saffron.[69]

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[56] Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, I, 123.

[57] Al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, see the preface.

[58] *Ibid.*, text, p. 112, trans., p. 137.

[59] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 279.

[60] Al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 192, trans., p. 233.

[61] Ibn al-K͟haṭīb, *op. cit.*, text, p. 19.

[62] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 373.

[63] Ibn al-K͟haṭīb, *op. cit.*, text, p. 18.

[64] Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, I, 102–3.

[65] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 348.

[66] Al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 24, trans., p. 31.

[67] Al-Dimas͟hḳī, *Cosmographie de Chems-ed-Din . . . ed-Dimichqui*, ed. A. F. Mehren (Leipzig 1923), p. 243, trans., *op. cit.*, p. 346.

[68] Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, II, 146.

In the southwest of Andalus lay the town of Calsena (Ḳalsāna). "At Ḳalsāna they make garments called al-Ḳalsānīya. They are of very remarkable style and workmanship" according to Ḥimyarī.[70]

In a more northeasterly direction there lies yet another group, Valencia, Chinchilla, Furḳuṣa, Bocayrente, Murcia, and Alsh.

The inhabitants of Valencia were famed for their great skill in dyeing fine linen tissues according to al-ʻAinī (ob. 855 H./1451 A.D.),[71] while "Balansī woven stuff (nasīdj) which goes to all quarters of the Maghreb is one of its specialties" says Maḳḳarī.[72] He further confirms that it is famous for dyes, both saffron and ḳirmiz (crimson).[73] Perhaps our authors do not know more of it because the city was lost to James I of Aragon in 636 H. (1238, A.D.), after five hundred years of Muslim rule.

Furḳuṣa, says Yāḳūt,[74] is a citadel of the province of Dāniya and Furḳuṣī garments are named after it. Bocayrente (Bakīrān) which lies in the triangle formed by Xativa, Dāniya, and Elche is mentioned by Idrīsī:[75] "They make white cloth (thiyāb) which sells at a very high price and lasts for many years. It is incomparable for quality and fineness. To such an extent is this so, that for whiteness and softness, it resembles paper."

Both Idrīsī and Ḥimyarī give the same account of Chinchilla:[76] "Djindjāla . . . They make coverlets (awṭiya) of linen here which cannot be imitated elsewhere, a circumstance which depends on the quality of the air and water"; and[77] "Shantadjāla . . . It is after this place that the Djindjālī covers (waṭā') are named because they are made there."

The most important city of the group, Murcia (Mursiya), has quite a long notice devoted to it by Maḳḳarī:[78]

> With the cities of Almeria and Malaga, it forms a third, engaged in the manufacture of figured washī-stuffs. It is particularly famous for Tantālī carpets (busuṭ) which are despatched to the eastern lands, and for mats (ḥuṣur) with which walls are covered, pleasing to the eye, and other things too many to mention.

Ḥimyarī[79] has a like notice: "They used to make fine and valuable carpets (busuṭ) at Murcia. The people of Murcia have unequalled skill in manufacturing and decorating these carpets."

Both Yāḳūt and Ḳazwīnī mention Alsh to the north of Murcia, the former[80] saying: "Splendid carpets (busuṭ fākhira) which have no parallel in the world for beauty, are manufactured there." Ḳazwīnī[81] less rhetorically makes them unparalleled in Andalus itself.

Of Bādja in modern Portugal, the *Analectes*[82] say: "In the days of the ʻAbbādites it was specially famous for the tanning of leather and the manufacture of linen." Of Arūn, a district of Bādja, Yāḳūt[83] says: "Its linen is better than any of the other linen in Andalus."

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[69] Ḳalḳashandī, *op. cit.*, V, 229. Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān*, ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 176, trans. by T. Reinaud, I, 252.

[70] Al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 163, trans., p. 195.

[71] Homenajé a D. F. Codera, p. 464.

[72] Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, II, 149.

[73] *Ibid.*, I, 90 and 110.

[74] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 881.

[75] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 193.

[76] *Ibid.*, text, p. 195.

[77] Al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 112, trans., p. 138.

[78] Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, II, 149.

[79] Al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 182, trans., p. 219.

[80] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 350.

[81] Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), II, 338.

[82] Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, I, 100.

[83] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, I, 227.

Though industry was concentrated in the south of Spain, there are one or two references to more northern centers. Of Lerida (Lārida), Ḥimyarī tells us:[84] "It is specially noted for the abundance and the excellence of its linen. It is exported thence to all the districts of the territory of the Marches."

It is most disappointing that, though Maḳḳarī says that Granada is the Damascus of Andalus, he is so devoid of information about its manufactures, apart from those of silken mulabbad stuffs and muk̲h̲attam (checked) materials. He does however remark that there is good saffron to be found locally.[85] Some description of the dress of its inhabitants is given by Ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb (ob. 776 H. [1374 A.D.]):[86]

> The most usual apparel worn among all classes is the dyed blanket (milaff maṣbūg̲h̲) in winter. In summer various kinds of cloth (bazz), linen, silk (ḥarīr), cotton, goathair,[87] African cloaks (ridā'), and Tunisian pieces of cloth (maḳṭa'), and doubled (lined ?) mantles (ma'āzir mas̲h̲fū'a) strive for first place.

Toledo (Ṭulaiṭula) has also been very briefly treated by the Arab authors. Maḳḳarī[88] mentions merely that it had saffron and pastel (ṣibg̲h̲ samā'ī) which is widely exported. Yāḳūt[89] had also heard of the fame of its saffron, and indeed it was famous as a Spanish export as early as Mas'ūdī.[90]

Examples of the famed Andalusian silks are to be found in von Falke's *Decorative Silks* which, on the literary side, this article may help to supplement.

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[84] Al-Ḥimyarī, *op. cit.*, trans., p. 202.

[85] Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, I, 94, and II, 147.

[86] Muhammad Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-K̲h̲aṭīb, *al-Iḥāṭa fī Ak̲h̲bār al-G̲h̲arnāṭa* (Cairo, 1319 H. [1901–2 A.D.]), I, 35.

[87] Reading مرعز for موعر.

[88] Maḳḳarī, *op. cit.*, I, 91.

[89] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 545.

[90] Mas'ūdī, *Murūd̲j̲ al-D̲h̲ahab, Les Prairies d'or* (Paris, 1861–77), I, 367.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE MAGHREB

Of all parts of the civilized Muslim world during the first four centuries, the Maghreb is probably the least productive of textiles of distinction, nor is it very well documented (Map 15).

The list of taxes in the *Djirāb al-Dawla,*[1] however, includes 120 large carpets (busuṭ) from the province of Ifrīḳiya as early as the reign of Ma'mūn along with the tribute in money. Guest has found an inscribed textile from the ṭirāz of Ifrīḳiya as early as the Caliph Marwān II, and which, in truth, is the earliest known ṭirāzī fragment. This stuff and the carpets probably came from Ḳairawān (Kairouan) or one of the cities of what I propose to call "the Ḳairawān group."[2] Abu 'l-Ḳāsim[3] talks of Maghribī gold-embroidered carpets (anṭā‘ mudhahhaba) as articles of luxury in Baghdad of his time, but this term Maghribī may also apply to Spain, so this evidence is of doubtful value. So also is the passage of Djāḥiẓ[4] which says: "The best felts are the Chinese (Ṣīnī) variety, and the red Maghribī kind," etc. Miskawaihī, curiously enough, informs us that the Byzantine army which besieged Aleppo in the year 351 H. (962 A.D.) had pavilions (khārgāhāt), adorned with Maghribī felts (lubūd).[5]

Nor do textiles figure very largely in the products of the Maghreb even in the time of Ibn Ḥawḳal:[6] "Exports of the Maghreb . . . ambergris, silk (ḥarīr), robes of valuable and cheap wool of all kinds down to woollen gowns (djubba), and such-like manufactures, carpets (anṭā‘), iron, lead, mercury, and slaves imported from the blacks (Sūdān)." An embassy to Spain in the year 381 H. (991 A.D.), according to Maḳḳarī[7] brought to Cordova, among other things, several loads of burnooses and other articles of woollen cloth manufactured in Africa.

Even as late as 'Umarī[8] the state of civilization among the Africans seems to have been on a low level compared with other Muslim countries, for he says: "The inhabitants of Ifrīḳiya[9] wear clothes of wool and cotton. Those who wear elegant clothing from Alexandria are isolated individuals." This remark is all the more surprising as Alexandrine stuffs were so largely exported to Europe in the Middle Ages.

Ibn Khaldūn,[10] though contemporary with the famous Tamerlane, gives a very competent survey of the arts in North Africa and Spain which cannot afford to be neglected.

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[1] Ibn Khaldūn, *Prolégomènes historiques,* trans. by M. de Slane (Paris, 1862–68) I, 364.

[2] G. Wiet, *L'Exposition persane de 1931* (Cairo, 1933), p. 5. Cf. the *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe,* ed. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, et G. Wiet (Cairo, 1931), I, 28.

[3] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim,* ed. by A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 36.

[4] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Rev. de l'Acad. Arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 338. Cf. *op cit.,* p. 341.

[5] Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate,* ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), text, II, 193, trans., V, 210.

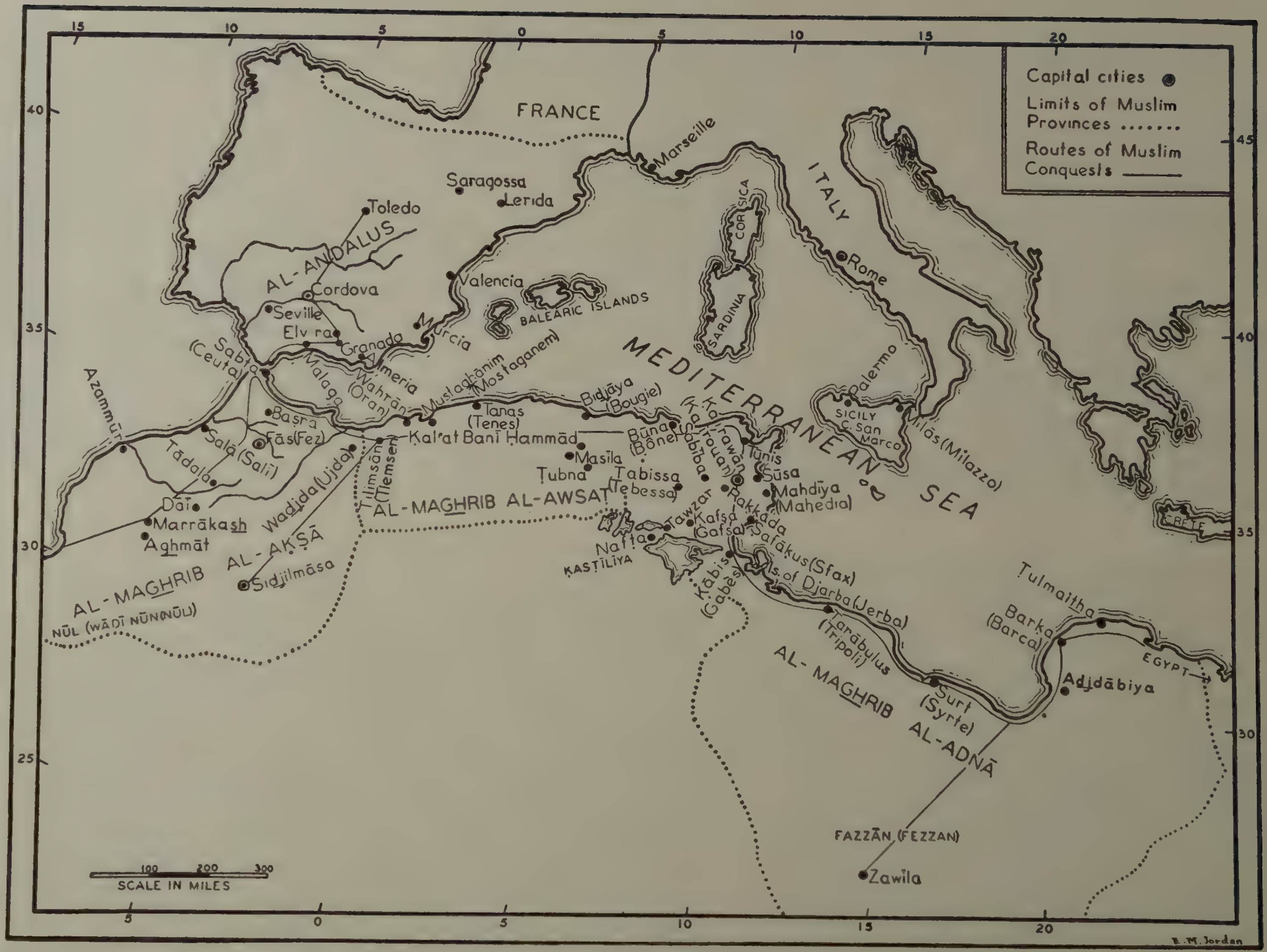
[6] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum,* ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed., Leyden, 1938–39), p. 97.

[7] Al-Maḳḳarī, *The History of the Mohammedan dynasties in Spain* (*Nafḥ al-Ṭīb*) (London, 1840–3), *Or. Trans. Fund,* ed. Pascual de Gayangos, II, 191.

[8] 'Umarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār, fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* trans. by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *I. L'Afrique moins l'Égypte* (*Bibliothèque des géographes arabes,* II) (Paris, 1927), p. 127. Cf. Ḳalkashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿshā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), V, 143.

[9] Ifrīḳiya means the northern littoral of the continent and is hardly so extensive a term as our "Africa."

[10] Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.,* II, 365 and 362 and "Prolégomènes d'Ebn Khaldoun," ed. by E. Quatremère, *Notes et Extr. de la Bibl. Nat.,* XVI–XVIII (Paris, 1858), II, 314 and 310 ff.


Capital cities ●
Limits of Muslim Provinces ....
Routes of Muslim Conquests ———
FRANCE
ITALY
Marseille
Rome
Saragossa
Lerida
Toledo
AL-ANDALUS
Cordova
Seville
Elvira
Granada
Almeria
Malaga
Murcia
Valencia
BALEARIC ISLANDS
CORSICA
SARDINIA
SICILY
Palermo
C. San Marco
Milās (Milazzo)
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CRETE
EGYPT
Sabta (Ceuta)
Azammūr
Basra
Fās (Fez)
Salā (Salī)
Tādala
Dāī
Marrākash
Aghmāt
Wadjda (Ujda)
AL-AKṢĀ
Sidjilmāsa
AL-MAGHRIB
NŪL (WĀDĪ NŪN(NŪL)
Wahrān (Oran)
Mustaghānim (Mostaganem)
Tilimsān (Tlemsen)
Tanas (Tenes)
Kal'at Banī Hammād
AL-MAGHRIB AL-AWSAT
Masīla
Tubna
Bidjāya (Bougie)
Būna (Bône)
Tabissa (Tebessa)
Sabība
Kairawān (Kairouan)
Tūnis
Sūsa
Mahdīya (Mahedia)
Rakkāda
Tawzar
Kafṣa (Gafsa)
Nafta
KASTĪLIYA
Safākus (Sfax)
Kābis (Gabes)
Is. of Djarba (Jerba)
Tarābulus (Tripoli)
AL-MAGHRIB AL-ADNĀ
Surt (Syrte)
Barka (Barca)
Tulmaitha
Adjdābiya
FAZZĀN (FEZZAN)
Zawīla
100 200 300
SCALE IN MILES
15
10
5
0
5
10
15
20
45
40
35
30
25
E. M. Jordan

Map 15—Muslim Textile Centers in North Africa and Sicily. (Modern Names Are Given in Parenthesis)

> The arts are few and imperfect in the Maghreb always excepting the weaving of wool, sewing and tanning of leather. These arts are brought to a high degree of perfection because they became indispensable when they had settled, and because wool and leather are the most plentiful products of countries occupied by nomads.
>
> The arts of Spain all reached perfection due to the attention which had been devoted to their improvement and their care. Thus those arts imbued Spanish culture with so deep a dye that it would only disappear if that were to disappear also. So it is, if a stuff is well dyed, the dye lasts as long as the cloth.
>
> Tunis resembles the Spanish cities in this respect. Culture made great progress there under the Ṣanhād̲j̲a dynasty (the Zīrides), and then under that of the Almohades (Ḥafṣides), and every art had attained a high standard of perfection. However this city is inferior if compared to the Spanish towns, but the proximity to Egypt, and the great number of travellers who pass every year between this country and the Maghreb have resulted in the introduction of many practices which have helped to augment the number of arts which were already in this city. Sometimes Tunisians used to live in Cairo for several years, and on their return they brought back from Egypt customs of luxury and perfection of the arts of the east, a knowledge which gave them a high degree of repute. Thus it happens that as regards the arts, Tunis resembles Cairo, but it also resembles the Spanish towns, because most of its inhabitants are descended from natives of east Spain who came there as refugees in the great migration which took place in the seventh century A.D.
>
> Thus the arts have been maintained in Tunis, and though this city is not at the present date in a state of civilisation which is worthy of it, yet once a dye has been thoroughly impregnated in a stuff, it hardly ever disappears unless this stuff is destroyed.

The truth of his statements of the settlements is attested by Bakrī[11] who informs us that Oran (Wahrān) was founded by a band of Andalusian sailors. Colonists from Elvira and Murcia colonized Tanas (Tenes) about 262 H. (875–6 A.D.). They used to winter in the port and later made a pact with the head Berbers to have a market and port there. This, in time, grew to quite a large town of four hundred families.

AL-MAG̲H̲RIB AL-ADNĀ

It is mainly the coast cities of the Maghreb that are famous for their manufactures, much of the interior of the province being barren and in a low state of civilization.

As we travel from Alexandria westward, the first important town is Ṭulmait̲h̲a (Ptolemais), and Idrīsī[12] tells us that ships from Alexandria bring good stuffs of cotton and linen to it which they exchange for honey, pitch, and butter.

Barḳa was early occupied by the Arabs and it flourished until the Hilālī invasion of the fifth (eleventh) century after which I have found no information. According to Ibn Ḥawḳal:[13] "It has markets, frequented by merchants and buyers[14] for the sale of wool, pepper, honey, wax, olive-oil, and various articles of merchandise, coming from the east, and going from the west." Bakrī (487 H. [1049 A.D.]) merely mentions that it exports wool (laine),[15] while Idrīsī[16] says: "In past times there was grown cotton which was called after it, quite unlike any other kind of cotton. . . . The ships and travellers who come from Alexandria, and Egypt (Miṣr) to Barḳa export wool," etc.

Of Ad̲j̲dābiya, Ibn Ḥawḳal[17] says: "Ships come to it with supplies, and take away from it various wares, mostly consisting of robes of mediocre quality, and woollen cloths (shiḳḳa) of little value." According to Bakrī [18] it had frequented bazaars, and most of the inhabitants are Copts, while Idrīsī [19] remarks on the Jewish traders there. Surt, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal is a place from which ships take wool.[20]

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[11] Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale,* trans. by M. de Slane (Alger, 1913), pp. 44 and 128.

[12] Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne,* ed. and trans. by R. P. A. Dozy and M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1866), text, p. 136.

[13] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 67. Cf. Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1876, 2d ed., 1906), III, 239.

[14] For the translation see the Glossary to the *B.G.A.*

[15] Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.,* p. 15.

[16] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 131.

[17] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 67.

It might be well to notice the far inland city of Zawīla here, which did a considerable trade in cloth with the hinterland; Bakrī [21] tells us that at Zawīla (or Zuwaila) of Fazzān is a caravan station. Here slaves are sold, the intermediary being red cloth. This is confirmed by Yāḳūt: [22] "Slaves are exported from Zawīla towards Ifrīḳiya and those parts. Their purchase is effected by short red garments." This city was the capital of the Fazzān oasis, and apparently an important commercial center. These red garments seem to be the Baṣrī stuffs of which Bīrūnī speaks.

THE ḲAIRAWĀN GROUP

This rather arbitrary division of cities into the Ḳairawān group is made because Ḳairawān was the capital city of early Islam in Africa and possessed a ṭirāz-factory. All such cities are characterized by a more developed type of manufactures than the other more backward and primitive centers.

The first of these cities is Ṭarābulus (Tripoli), and Ibn Ḥawḳal [23] says: "There is a large export of precious wool and pieces of splendid blue robes (ṭīḳān al-aksiya al-fākhira al-zurḳ)." The *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* [24] tells us that "it is a resort of Byzantine and Spanish merchants. Whatever the Sea of Rūm produces comes there." Bakrī [25] remarks on its frequented bazaars.

Of the island of Djarba, al-Tīdjānī (706–08 H. [1306–09 A.D.]) says, "This island is famous in other countries for the superior quality of the wool that its numerous flocks produce. In no other part of Africa are finer kinds for the weaving of rich stuffs and garments to be found." [26] Leo Africanus [27] confirms this: "Ceux de l'île vivent de la facture et trafique des draps de laine (au moins, la plus grand' partie), lesquels ils portent vendre, ensemble le raisin sec, dans la cité de Thunes (Tunis) ou d'Alexandrie."

Ibn Ḥawḳal [28] enumerated silks among the exports from Africa, and of Ḳābis he says: "It has markets within its walls, and great supplies of wool, besides which a great deal of silk (ḥarīr) is made there." The anonymous geographer [29] of the sixth century in a passage founded on Bakrī, says: "There are many mulberry trees there, and silk is raised. This is the best and finest silk, none being made in Ifrīḳiya except here." Idrīsī,[30] too, knew of its fame: "In former times there were ṭirāz-factories there in which beautiful silk (ḥarīr) was made, but nowadays there are tanneries there for leather which is exported." Yāḳūt[31] also gives it some attention: "There are many mulberry trees there, and from one of those trees there comes a quantity of silk which five trees elsewhere cannot produce. Its silk is the best and finest variety. No silk is to be found in the province of Ifrīḳiya except at Ḳābis." Even the post-Mongol *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb*[32] speaks of "Ḳābis . . . a fine large city where excellent stuffs are woven."

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[18] Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

[19] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 132.

[20] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[21] Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

[22] Yāḳūt, *Muʿdjam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. by F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 961.

[23] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[24] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 153.

[25] Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

[26] Al-Tīdjānī, *Voyage du Scheikh et-Tidjani*, (partial) trans. by A. Rousseau, *Journ. Asiatique* (Paris, 1852), IV, XX, 171.

[27] Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique tièrce partie du monde*, ed. C. Schefer, *Recueil des Voyages et Documents* (Paris, 1896), XIII, III, 177.

[28] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

[29] *Description de l'Afrique par un géographe anonyme du sixième siècle*, ed. by A. v. Kremer (Vienna, 1852), p. 3. This passage is based on al-Bakrī. See M. Quatremère, "Notice d'un manuscrit arabe contenant la description de l'Afrique" (by al-Bakrī), *Notes et extr. de la Bibl. Nat.*, XII (Paris, 1831), 28. All the references in this chapter to the latter work allude to the off-print.

[30] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 106.

A more inland group of cities lay to the west of Ḳābis; they are Ḳafṣa, Tawzar, Nafṭa, and others, and they also had some textiles.

"In Ḳafṣa" says the anonymous geographer[33] "are made cloaks (ridā') of the kind known as ṭailasāns, and turbans of wool, of the utmost fineness, vying with sharb-cloth."[34] Idrīsī[35] knew that they cultivated cotton and henna. Bakrī[36] mentions a place called Ṭūrak after which Ṭūrakī garments imported into Egypt took their name.

The same anonymous geographer[37] mentions a place Dardjīn: "It is an ancient city near Nafṭa, and it is a large city where Dardjīnī robes which resemble the kind manufactured at Sidjilmāsa, both in cloth (thawb) and color, though they are of an inferior quality, are manufactured."

Ibn Sa'īd[38] says of the district called Ḳasṭīlīya, the exact area of which it is rather hard to determine: "In this region, excellent linen, indigo, and henna are found." This district lay somewhere near the two large "Shutts," and a town of that name is mentioned by Ibn Ḥawḳal[39] which "had supplies of wool despatched to every quarter, such as pieces (shiḳḳa) of cloth, robes, fur (ḥanbal), and other articles manufactured there and exported everywhere." The capital of this area was Tawzar, which according to Abu 'l-Fidā'[40] had flax and henna. Tīdjānī[41] describes Bāb al-Manshūr there: "Those of the inhabitants who exercise the profession of dyers, come there to spread out garments of various colors, and embroidered stuffs. The eye of the visitor seems to see in front of him, a rich flower-bed, where flowers of a thousand colors blossom on the edges of fresh and limpid streams." (Eighth [fourteenth] century.)

Ṣafāḳus seems to have been affected by Alexandrine influence, for Bakrī[42] says: "Dans l'art de fouler les draps, et de leur donner le cati, les habitants de Ṣafāḳus suivent les méthodes employées à Alexandrie, mais ils surpassent les fabricants de cette ville par l'excellence et l'abondance de leurs produits." However the translation of Quatremère[43] reads: "Les habitants se livrent à l'art du foulon, et à celui du tisserand, avec encore plus d'activité et de succès qu'on ne le fait à Alexandrie." Our anonymous geographer remarks[44] that Sicily, Italy, and Rūm have connections with it.

North Africa was in all probability the

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[31] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 1 ff.

[32] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 265.

[33] *Description de l'Afrique,* ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 40.

[34] Reading sharb for sharf.

[35] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 104.

[36] If this reading is correct. See M. Quatremère's edition of al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 69, which has Tūran.

[37] *Description de l'Afrique,* ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 46.

[38] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*, II, 383.

[39] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

[40] Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān,* ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 144.

[41] Al-Tīdjānī, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

[42] Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique,* ed. de Slane, p. 46.

[43] *Idem, op. cit.*, ed. M. Quatremère, pp. 31-2.

[44] *Description de l'Afrique,* ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 7.

least noteworthy country in the ṭirāz-system. It was not until Abbasid times that the Maghreb began to be divided into petty semi-independent states where the rulers set up their own factories in the palace and elsewhere. Nevertheless Africa probably possessed ṭirāz-cities before Andalus. The capital of Nearer Africa (al-Maghrib al-Adnā) was Ḳairawān, founded upon an old Roman site in 50 H. (670 A.D.). When Bakrī[45] wrote (487 H. [1049 A.D.]) the city possessed a Bāb al-Ṭirāz which was on the side toward Raḳḳāda. The ṭirāzī cloth made in Ifrīḳīya has already been mentioned, and it is probable that it came from here. It is worthy of note that the mosque of Ḳairawān owed its foundation to Hishām, so possibly the ṭirāz-factory was in existence in his day.

Ḳairawān became a flourishing place under the Aghlabids (184–298 H. [800–909 A.D.]); it was a very mixed city, and after Ya'ḳūbī,[46] it had a population comprising Arab, Berber, Persian, Khurāsānī, and Rūmī elements. Ibn Ḥawḳal[47] is able to tell us (367 H. [978 A.D.]):

> Ḳairawān was the greatest town in the Maghreb, the largest in property and trade, and possessing the most beautiful buildings and markets. The Dīwān of all the West (Maghreb) was there to which the taxes were all taken, and the Sultan's palace was also there. Outside it was the place called Raḳḳāda which is a town that was the dwelling of the Banū Aghlab.

An incidental note in *al-Bayān al-Mughrib*[48] tells us that al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs, the Zīrid, and a member of a dynasty which had supported Fatimid rule in Africa, changed the inscription on the coinage, melted up the money of the 'Ubaidites (Fatimids) and had them cursed in the mosques. These were the customary proceedings when a governor or general wished to renounce his allegiance to the central power: "The suppression of their names on the flags and standards was even anterior to this. The 'Ubaidites had begun to strike money in their name and to put their names on the standards, and in the borders (ṭirāz) in 296 H. (908 A.D.), and Mu'izz suppressed them in 441 H. (1094 A.D.); that is to say that this lasted for 145 years."

A little further on,[49] he says:

> In Djumādā of the year 443 H. (1049, A.D.) said Ibn Sharaf, al-Mu'izz ibn Bādīs summoned the dyers and gave them white stuffs coming from the linen-store (funduḳ al-kattān), so as to dye them black, and they dyed them the deepest black. He collected the tailors who cut them into garments, and all the jurists and cadis were summoned to the palace, as well as the preachers of Ḳairawān, and the muezzins, and he invested them with black.

Since the Fatimids had ṭirāz-factories while they were still in Ifrīḳīya, we might expect that, when the seat of government was moved from Ḳairawān to the new city of Mahdīya in the year 308 H. (921 A.D.), new factories would be established there, and they certainly did have an arsenal (dār al-ṣanā'a) from the first. According to Bakrī,[50] Mahdīya was frequented by boats from Alexandria, Syria, Sicily, Spain, etc., and Idrīsī[51] tells us that:

> It has never ceased to be a station for ships of the Hejaz[52] coming to it from the East, the West, An-

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[45] Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, ed. M. Quatremère, pp. 39 and 44.

[46] Ya'ḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), VII, 348.

[47] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

[48] Ibn 'Adhārī, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne. . . . Al-Bayano 'l-Mogrib*, ed. R. P. A. Dozy (Leyden, 1848–51), I, 290 and 291 ff., trans. by E. Fagnan (Alger, 1901–4), I, 416 and 418.

[49] *Ibid.*, text, I, 272, trans., I, 387. For a discussion on standards see the introduction to M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes' translation (in part) of 'Umarī, *op. cit.*

[50] Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, p. 67.

[51] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 107 ff.

[52] There is no necessity to alter the word Ḥidjāz, as "ships" (marākib) might also be understood as "caravans" which would come by land. In any case

> dalus, Rūm, and other countries. Many wares were imported into it and sold for enormous sums in past days, but there is little of that nowadays. Mahdīya was the harbor and port of Ḳairawān. . . . Fine and excellent cloth called after it used to be made which merchants took to all countries at all times and at the time when it was impossible to make similar cloth for excellence and beauty, in any other country.

Yāḳūt[53] adds: "To it are attributed Sūsī and Mahdawī cloth (t͟hiyāb)."

The downfall of the hitherto prosperous Mahdīya took place in 449 H. (1057 A.D.) when Mu'izz removed the bazaars and factories to al-Manṣūrīya. We hear that as much as ten dirhams was paid for the location of a booth to sell linen there. But Ḳairawān had ceased to flourish at the foundation of Mahdīya and was a miserable city with only a few tanners, in the time of Leo Africanus.[54] According to Ibn al-Mud͟jāwir[55] the inhabitants of the island of Kīs͟h wear the stuffs of Mahdīya in the Maghreb.

The city of Sūsa was always renowned for its textiles, though I have been able to find very little early information about them. It was held by the Idrīsids, the Almoravids, and the Almohads in turn, though the Almoravids never held it very securely.

Ṭirāzī stuffs are mentioned there by Bakrī:[56] "Many people are employed in weaving at Sūsa, and they make thread, one mit͟hḳāl of which is worth two gold mit͟hḳāls. Here it is that the fullers finish off the fine stuffs of Ḳairawān." This passage is repeated by the anonymous geographer:[57]

> It is especially noted for abundance of good, excellent fine garments, and for the fulling (ḳiṣāra) of them, as well as all the manufactures of precious stuffs of its embroidery (ṭaraz) and bleaching (kamd). Such as the latter are not to be found manufactured in any city but this, and the Sūs cloth is well known, without parallel, and of a startlingly white color and lustre,[58] not to be found in any other cloth. Precious garments such as turbans of close weave[59] are imported from this place, a single one of which is worth a hundred dinars and more, and which merchants take to all countries, east and west. Thread (g͟hazl) is sold there, a mit͟hḳāl's weight for two mit͟hḳāls usually.

Perhaps the turbans mentioned here are the same as those which were made in Ḳal'a Ḥammād for the Ṣanhād͟ji monarchs.

Idrīsī[60] tells us that "it has many wares. Travellers come and go from it with cloth, such as various kinds of garments and turbans, called after it, a fine and precious kind of ware. It has frequented markets." Yāḳūt[61] remarks: "Most of its inhabitants are weavers, weaving Sūsī clothes of high price, and whatever is made elsewhere resembles them, the price of a garment in the country of provenance being ten dinars." He quotes an earlier authority Ibn Sa'd and further mentions that "the weavers there are many, and they spin a thread a mit͟hḳāl's weight of which is sold for two mit͟hḳāls."

The traveler Tīd͟jānī[62] from his own evidence tells us that "it is there that they make

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the author may not have been considering the precise implication of these words.

[53] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 694.

[54] G. Yver, "al-Ḳairawān," *Encyl. Islām* (Leyden, 1913–38), II, 648, mentions carpets, woollen and cotton goods, as products of Ḳairawān, but I have been unable to trace the reference.

[55] Quoted by C. Schefer in his edition of Nāṣir-i K͟husraw, *Safar-nāma,* entitled *Relation du Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau, Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (=*P.E.L.O.V.*) (Paris, 1881), II, I, 231 (footnote).

[56] Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 78, edition of Quatremère, p. 54.

[57] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

[58] Read basīṣ with Yāḳūt, instead of maṣīṣ. Cf. infra, footnote 82.

[59] Ma'ṣūr or maḳṣūr?

[60] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 125, also quoted by Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, p. 144, trans. (Paris, 1847–83), I, 199.

[61] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 191–2.

[62] Al-Tīd͟jānī, *op. cit.*, p. 103. (8th century H. [14th century A.D.].)

the fine garments called Sūsī." Ibn Duḳmāḳ [63] even tells us that there was a street in Cairo known as Darb al-Sūsī which would seem to imply that these stuffs were sold if not even made there. The frequent occurrence of Sūsī cloth in the catalogues of the Fatimid treasuries in Maḳrīzī show that they were exported to Egypt from that period, and it is very likely that this dynasty had a ṭirāz there.[64] At the end of the fifteenth century Ibn Iyās still notes that garments and robes are exported from Sūs but it is doubtful if this evidence is contemporary.[65]

Tunis began to grow about the year 80 H. (698 A.D.), and it has been prosperous ever since. It was about that time that the Caliph 'Abd al-Malik sent a thousand Copts with their families, and at the same time an arsenal was constructed, in which, it appears, these Copts were to build ships with wood provided by the Berbers. Some textile-workers may have come along with them,[66] but it is Ibn Ḥawḳal [67] who is the first to tell us that "one of its crops is cotton which is taken to Ḳairawān at a profit and thus also hemp (ḳinnab)." The same author [68] adds that the merchants of Fars wear robes of Tunisian stuff. While Idrīsī found that Ḳairawān was at a very low ebb, Tunis was a fine flourishing city with crops of cotton and a yellow dye ('uṣfur).[69] A court of silk-merchants (funduḳ al-ḥarā' irīya) was established there, probably as early as the year 332 H. (994 A.D.).

In the mid-thirteenth century the Ḥafṣide, Abū Zakariyā, established industry there and built a Sūḳ al-Ḳumās͟h (cloth-market). 'Umarī [70] tells us that "cloth is made there called 'African'. Those are superior stuffs whether of cotton and linen, or linen only. They are more perfect than the Naṣāfī of Baghdad, and more beautiful; the best garments of the Maghreb are made of them." Ḳalḳas͟handī [71] too quotes the *Masālik al-Abṣār* (of 'Umarī) saying:

> The Sultan of Tūnis . . . concerning his apparel, the *Masālik al-Abṣār* says of the Sultan of his time (the first half of the eighth (fourteenth) century) in Ifrīḳīya, that he had a turban ('imāma), not excessively large, with a head-rope (ḥanak), and a small trailing end ('ad͟haba). Ibn Sa'īd said: "He has a large turban of wool (ṣūf) and linen (kattān) with a ṭirāz-border of silk (ḥarīr). Nobody of the ruling family wears one so large in size." He remarked that the end of his turban comes behind his left ear, which is reserved to him and his relations. He has gowns (d͟jubba) somewhat resembling that. . . . His customary apparel and that of his great sheikhs is made of a cloth (ḳumās͟h) they have, called safsārī made there of silk and cotton, of silk and very fine wool, as well as cloth known as Tilimsānī which is made in Tilimsān, either of pure wool, or pure silk, checked (muk͟hattam), or without checks.
>
> Ibn Bannūn said: "The Sultan is distinguished by the wearing of k͟hazz-silk. Its color is green and black." He said: "This color is called al-d͟jawzī (nut-color), and al-g͟hiyār (read al-g͟hubār, dust-colored), and al-Nafṭī (from Nafṭa, a city in the

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[63] Ibn Duḳmāḳ, *Description de l'Egypte,* ed. C. Vollers (Cairo, 1893), I, 29.

[64] See Chapter XVI. Sūs stuffs are mentioned by Ibn 'Ad͟hārī, *op. cit.,* text, I, 271, trans., I, 386–7. They were embroidered with gold. Stuffs of Sūs are very commonly mentioned in oriental authors, but there is frequently some doubt as to whether they come from the Persian or North African city of that name, or even from some other place altogether.

[65] Ibn Iyās, "Cosmographie . . . par . . . Mohhammed ben Ahmed ben Ayâs (Nas͟hḳ al-Azhār)" by L. Langlès, *Not. et Extr. de la Bibl. Nat.,* VIII (Paris, 1810), p. 6.

[66] Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.,* trans. de Slane, p. 84 (edition of Quatremère, p. 57).

[67] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 74.

[68] *Idem, Viae et regna . . . Descriptio ditionis moslemicae,* ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1873), II, 205. The reading may be incorrect as is indeed very likely.

[69] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 110.

[70] 'Umarī, trans. (in part) by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.,* p. 111.

[71] Ḳalḳas͟handī, *op. cit.,* V, 141–2. Cf. R. Dozy, *Dictionnaire détaillé des noms des vêtements chez les Arabes* (Amsterdam, 1845), p. 180 for Tunis.

> hinterland of Ḳābis ?)." Ibn Sa‘īd said: "It is that which comes from the sea at Ṣafāḳus." [72] ‘Umarī says in the *Masālik al-Abṣār;* "It is called ‘fish-down’ (wabar al-samak) in Egypt and Syria, meaning what is expressed by the ‘fish-wool’ afore-mentioned under Ṣafāḳus (ṣūf al-samak)" . . . Ibn Sa‘īd said: "They are the finest cloths (t͟hiyāb) of the Sultan in Tunis."
>
> In the *Masālik al-Abṣār,* on the authority of Ibn Sa‘īd, he related that the Sultan used commonly to wear garments of precious wool, wonderful and of various colors. The most commonly worn is the checked (muk͟hattam), gold-embroidered (mumtazid͟j) stuff of silk and wool,[73] with two long sleeves, without great length, narrow without being tight (muzannad). His robes are not tied by a belt (niṭāḳ) unless it should be war-time when they are tied with a girdle. He also wears cloaks (ḳabā’) and has a ṭailasān of wool of very fine material which he wears as a cloak and does not put over his head.
>
> The Cadi Abu’l-Ḳāsim ibn Bannūn said: "It is not the custom of the Sultan of Ifrīḳiya to invest those whom he appoints to command a province with a robe of honor (k͟hil‘a) as it is in Miṣr (Cairo); it is only an investiture (kiswa), and it consists of uncut cloth which he can use as he wills."

Ḳalḳas͟handī [74] further mentions that "other kinds of clothing such as the choice articles imported from Alexandria and Iraq, are extremely uncommon."

Strangely enough, Idrīsī [75] mentions that this safsārī stuff was made at Nūl (a plain now called Wādī Nūn or Nūl) in southwest Morocco, between the west Anti-Atlas and its outliers, twenty miles from the sea. In Tunis Leo Africanus found there was a great number of merchants of only the finest stuffs, as well as "veloutiers, couturiers, selliers, and pelletiers." [76]

In the hinterland of Ḳairawān near the city of Sabība, much flax (kattān) was grown according to Ibn Ḥawḳal.[77] Still further inland Tabissa was one of the more civilized cities which belong to the Ḳairawān group, and Yāḳūt [78] says: "There are fine carpets of perfect weave (busuṭ d͟jalīla muḥkama al-nasad͟j) there, which last for a long time."

Proceeding along the coast from Tunis we come to Būna and Ibn Ḥawḳal [79] notes that it trades in wool. The editor of the sixth century adds that flax is also grown there.

The area examined in the above passages is known as Nearer Africa (al-Mag͟hrib al-Adnā) and the next province which comes to our notice is called Middle Africa (al-Mag͟hrib al-Awsaṭ).

AL-MAG͟HRIB AL-AWSAṬ

Another branch of the Zīrid dynasty, the Ḥammādids, had its capital in Ḳal‘a Ḥammād which they founded in 398 H. (1007–8 A.D.), and which soon became a center of the arts and industry. It is interesting to find that there was even a small community of Christians there.

The anonymous author of the sixth century [80] who mainly follows Bakrī, tells us: "In the city of Ḳal‘a Ḥammād are made robes (aksiya) which have no equal for excellence and fineness, not even the Wad͟jdī robes which are made at Wad͟jda. A festal robe (kisā’ ‘īd) of the manufacture of the Ḳal‘a is worth thirty dinars." In the same work there is a passage which must either refer to the stuffs made in the ṭirāz-factory of the Ḥammādids in the

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[72] See supra. Compare these passages with ‘Umarī, trans. (in part) by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.,* pp. 124–5. For sea-wool see Chapter XXI.

[73] The word mumtazid͟j may simply mean here a "compounded, or mixed, stuff," and not a gold-embroidered stuff. For a somewhat similar term, mumazzad͟j, see Chapter II, I, footnote 17.

[74] Ḳalḳas͟handī, *op. cit.,* V, 143.

[75] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 59.

[76] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.,* III, 138.

[77] Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. J. H. Kramers, *op. cit.,* p. 84.

[78] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* I, 823.

[79] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 76.

[80] *Description de l’Afrique,* ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 58.

Ḳal‘a, or else perhaps to the famous turbans of Sūs:[81]

> The Ṣanhādji kings (from the context, the Zīrids are intended) had gold-woven turbans (‘amā’im mudhahhaba), expensive in price, a single one of which was worth five and six hundred dinars and even more. They used to shape them with the most perfect art so that they became like two turbans (tādj). In their country there were craftsmen especially for this manufacture. For the making of turbans of this kind, a molder (ṣā’igh) took two dinars or more. They used to have molds (ḳālib) of wood in their factories (ḥānūt) which they called "heads" round which they used to wind the turbans.

In 543 H. (1048 A.D.) Yaḥyā moved all the valuable material away from it in front of the advance of the Almohades, and Yāḳūt[82] somewhat later, says: "There were made in Ḳal‘a Ḥammād, extremely good felts of Ṭīlaḳān (Ṭāliḳān in Khurāsan) (labābīd al-Ṭīlaḳān). The beautiful Ḳal‘ī robes (aksiya) of close weave and embroidered with gold (muṭarraz) were to be found. Their wool has a softness and luster,[83] so that with gold, they are esteemed as ibrīsm-silk." In this connection it is interesting to note that the Ḥammādids had an arsenal at the Ḳal‘a (dār al-ṣanā‘a) as well as this ṭirāz-factory, but the city declined after their time.

The chief port of the Maghreb in this area was the city of Bidjāya (Bougie) of which our anonymous geographer[84] says: "It is a great port where the ships from Rūm, Syria, and others of the most distant countries of Rūm, and ships of the Muslims from Alexandria with the rarities of the land of Egypt, Yemen, India, and China, etc., put in." This town according to Ibn al-Baiṭār[85] produced a dye Ardjiḳna (from a plant of that name): "The dyers get it from the Maghreb from the country surrounding Bidjāya and the best is that of Sétif. It is also known in Ifrīḳīya."

Seven days south of Bidjāya lay Ṭubna where they had cotton, according to Ibn Ḥawḳal.[86] The same author tells us that: "Masīla is a new town founded by Ali ibn al-Andalusī, a servant of the family of ‘Ubaid Allāh (the Fatimid). It grows cotton."[87] Mustaghānim according to Bakrī[88] had cotton which made some beautiful articles, and Leo Africanus[89] remarks that there were artisans and weavers of stuffs there.

Tilimsān (Tlemcen) really began to flourish under the Almohades, and Bakrī[90] remarks on its bazaars. Yāḳūt[91] knew that "the women in it make out of wool horse-cloths (kanbūsh) of various kinds which are not to be found elsewhere." The passage from Ibn Sa‘īd (ob. 673 H. [1274 A.D.]) mentioning a Tilimsānī cloth of pure wool, or of pure silk, with or without checks (mukhattam) has already been cited. If the Sultan derived cloth from this city it is extremely likely that he had a ṭirāz-factory there. According to the *Encyclopædia of Islām*[92] it is still noted for horse-cloths.

AL-MAGHRIB AL-AḲṢĀ

The chief city in this, the most outlying district of Islam in the West, during the period of Muslim domination was Fez (Fās) and this city, at one period at least, did possess ṭirāz-factories, though from the description it is uncertain how far they were under palace control. It is likely that they made materials on commission of the palace officials, or official, but that their factories were independent of the sovereign. A certain amount of Persian influence may have been exerted on the early manufactures of Fez, because Idrīs, in founding it, established a group of Persians there, from Iraq (probably 'Irāḳ A'd͟jamī) at 'Ain Alloun, but the main trends of influence on local art probably came from Andalus with the immigrants of various periods. The *Zahra al-Ās*[93] remarks that about the year 462 H. (1069–70 A.D.) Yūsuf ibn Tās͟hifīn brought artisans from Cordova who restored or built numerous buildings at Fez.

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[81] *Ibid.*, p. 20.

[82] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, IV, 164.

[83] Baṣīṣ which I propose to read for maṣīṣ, supra, footnote 57.

[84] *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 21.

[85] See R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes* (2d ed., Paris, 1927), I, 17, under Ardjīfan. This is a dye according to Ibn al-Baiṭār which the dyers obtain from the Maghreb, from the country surrounding Bougie (Bidjāya) and Sétif.

[86] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 193. Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.*, text, p. 139, trans., I, 192.

[87] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.*, p. 85. Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 86.

[88] Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, p. 143.

[89] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*, III, 47.

[90] Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, p. 156.

[91] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.* I, 871.

[92] A. Bel, "Tlemcen," *Encyl. Islam*, IV, 804.

Bakrī[94] found that the Jews were more numerous in Fez than in any other city in the Maghreb and it may have been partly due to this that it was such a noted dyeing center; all this part of Africa produced indigo. According to I. Epstein:[95] "The majority of the Jews eked out their living, mostly in huckstering and peddling amongst themselves as well as among their neighbors. The trade chiefly consisted in woollen goods—raw or manufactured, silks, scarlets, and other textile wares, dyes, wax, and ostrich-feathers." In a footnote he mentions blankets (חמילות), dyers' woad (isatis tinctoria איסטים), purples. Yāḳūt[96] adds: "In Fez, purple-red (urd͟juwān) and crimson (ḳirmizī) garments are dyed." Further, Benjamin of Tudela[97] actually remarks that in Thebes there were 2,000 Jews (that is to say families of Jews), mostly skilled artificers in silk and purple cloth, and throughout Greece. The connection of Jews with the ḳirmizī (crimson dye) has been noted before.

The *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*[98] tells us that "the dyers established themselves because of the proximity to the water, on the two sides of the tongue of land which divides the Wādī Kabīr from its entry into the town as far as Roumelia . . . Beyond, the fritter-fryers and makers of haiks established themselves." The *Zahra al-Ās* further adds that artisans and merchants of all lands come to Fez.[99]

Both the *Zahra al-Ās*[100] and the *Rawḍ al-Ḳirṭās*[101] have the same account of the factories there in Almohad times. In the light of what Ibn K͟haldūn[102] noticed—that the Almohades were the first to drop the ṭirāz-inscription, but that in later times, they re-adopted it—we might surmise that this took place under the two monarchs who are mentioned in the following passage: "In the time of the Almohad al-Manṣūr, and of his son Muhammad al-Nāṣir (580-610 H. [1184–1213 A.D.]) there were at Fez . . . 467 funduḳs (inns for merchants) . . . 3094 houses of ṭirāz (aṭriza) . . . and 116 dyehouses . . . inside the walls." These ṭirāz-factories were in the highest part of the town. Our information here is authentic because the author founds it upon a document which came from the archives of Fez itself.

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[93] Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ali al-G͟haznā'ī, "Zahrat al- Ās," ed. and trans. by A. Bel, *Bull. de Corr. Afr.* (Alger, 1923), LIX, text, p. 32, trans., p. 78.

[94] Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique,* ed. de Slane, p. 226.

[95] I. Epstein, *The Responsa of Rabbi Simon ben Ẓemaḥ Duran* (London, 1930), trans. p. 47.

[96] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* III, 842.

[97] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), trans., p. 10.

[98] Ali b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Zar' al-Fāsī, *Roudh el-Kartas, Histoire des Souverains du Maghreb,* trans. by A. Beaumier (Paris, 1860) p. 58.

[99] Al-G͟haznā'ī, *op. cit.,* trans., p. 72.

[100] *Ibid.,* p. 81.

[101] Ali b. 'Abdallāh b. Abī Zar' al-Fāsī, *op. cit.,* p. 58.

[102] See Chapter I.

Considering the position in al-Mag͟hrib al-Aḳṣā of Sid͟jilmāsa, founded in 140 H. (757–8, A.D.), it was surprisingly famous for its textiles.[103] An unusual passage from Bīrūnī[104] may help to explain the fame of Sid͟jilmāsa in Islam:

> In the lands of the negroes are mines richer in output than any other region, containing pure gold; but the road thither is very toilsome on account of the deserts and sands, and because the inhabitants of those lands shrink from association with our people. For this reason the merchants of Sid͟jilmāsa, on the borders of Tāhart in al-Mag͟hrib al-Aḳṣā, provide themselves with sufficient provisions and plenty of water and carry to the negroes who live beyond the desert, Baṣra garments known as munaḥnaḥāt, their love of which they know well. These garments have red borders (aṭrāf) and are colored with various colors, and bordered (mu‘allama) with gold. They sell them for gold, and by making signs from a distance, and by displaying them so that both parties agree.

The Baṣra intended is probably the Baṣra of the Maghreb.[105]

Idrīsī[106] tells us that "the people of this town have crops of cotton, cumin, carraway, and henna." Yāḳūt[107] seems well acquainted with its products: " Its women have the hands of craftsmen in spinning wool of which they make all wonderful and strange kinds of lovely izārs surpassing the linen (ḳaṣab) of Egypt. The price of an izār reaches thirty-five dinars or more, like the most expensive ḳaṣab which is in Egypt. They make mantles (or hats, g͟hafāra) of it, the price of which comes to about the same, and they dye it with various colors." Leo Africanus of rather later date, adds that there are Jewish traders there.

Bakrī[108] tells us of Yerara: "Leur laine qui est d'une qualité supérieure, s'emploie à Sid͟jilmāsa pour fabriquer des étoffes dont chaque pièce se vend à un prix qui dépasse vingt mit͟hḳāls (d'or)." He further mentions that their sheep are of a kind said to be from the island of Kīs in the Persian Gulf. The translation of Quatremère[109] however, calls this place Ḥiṣn Badāra and informs us that these sheep came from Fars.

The other cities in al-Mag͟hrib al-Aḳṣā, apart from Sid͟jilmāsa and Fez, seem to have been little known to the geographers and not of much interest as regards their textile products.

Of Wad͟jda (Ujda), the anonymous geographer[110] says: "They say that from one of their sheep two hundred ounces of fat are taken. From their wool they make robes (aksiya) quite unequalled in quality, like the ‘Abīdī kind,[111] a single robe being worth fifty dinars or more."

Sabta (Ceuta), according to Ibn al-K͟haṭīb[112] was "a very San‘a of beautiful cloaks (ḥulla)" and a station for caravans of olive-oil (‘aṣīr), silk (ḥarīr), and linen (kattān).

Baṣra is a place which has long disappeared. It is believed to have been founded toward the end of the ninth century and seems to have had some manufactures of cloth. Ibn Ḥawḳal[113] says: "It has much cotton produce which is taken to Ifrīḳiya and elsewhere." The anonymous geographer[114] adds: "It is also called Baṣra al-Kattān (Baṣra of the Linen) because its people trade in linen." Idrīsī[115] also adds that its principal products consist of cotton. Yāḳūt[116] quotes 'Umarī to say: "Baṣra used to be known as Baṣra al-Kattān, for they used, in early times, to perform all transactions with linen." The red Baṣrī garments mentioned as being used in trade with the Negroes may have come from here.

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[103] Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *op. cit.*, p. 176, talks of its trouser-cords but this is an incorrect reading.

[104] Bīrūnī, *Kitāb al-D͟jamāhir*, ed. F. Krenkow (Hyderabad, 1938), p. 241 ff.

[105] For munaḥnaḥāt, we might read munak͟hk͟hak͟hāt.

[106] Idrīsī, *op. cit.*, text, p. 61.

[107] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.*, III, 46.

[108] Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. de Slane, p. 281.

[109] *Ibid.*, ed. M. Quatremère, *op. cit.*, p. 165. This is not an accurate translation, being inferior to that of de Slane which is, however, also dubious in many places.

[110] *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 66.

[111] Read perhaps Ṣa‘idī for ‘Abīdī.

[112] Ibn al-K͟haṭīb, *Descripcion del reino de Granada*, trans. by F. J. Simonet (Madrid, 1860), p. 29.

At Salā (Sali), ships from Seville and Andalus used frequently to put in, according to Idrīsī,[117] while Ibn al-Khaṭīb[118] mentions that it "is a mine of cotton and linen." Leo Africanus[119] remarks that much cotton is produced from which the inhabitants of the town make "des toiles fort deliées et belles, qui est la cause qu'ils sont quasi tous tisserans en la cité." Ibn al-Khaṭīb[120] found that clothing (libās) is made at Azammūr.

Marrākash (Morocco) is poorly documented, and it is only as late as the Sa'dian dynasty that I have found any information about textiles there at all. The *Nuzhat al-Hādī*[121] tells of a palace called al-Badī' which was built by the monarch al-Manṣūr of that dynasty (986–1002 H. [1578–93 A.D.]): "One of the secretaries said: Curtains embroidered with gold, of perfect workmanship (sutūr mudhahhaba muḥkama al-ṣanā'a) were embroidered (ṭarraza) in it, so that the four sides of the Ḳubba al-Khamsīnīya might be covered with them. These curtains were called by the Arabs 'Ḥā'iṭī'." This carpet had four directions (djihāt), that is, probably, like prayer-carpets with their arched pattern in each of which were inscribed some verses which are given by the author.

South of Marrākash we have a small group of towns which made some kind of cloth. Chief of those was Aghmāt from which, according to Idrīsī:[122] "They send to the black country a large number of camels laden with red copper of various colors, robes (kisā'), woollen cloth, turbans, mantles (mi'zar), necklaces of glass beads, mother-of-pearl, stones, various drugs and perfumes, manufactured iron utensils." Northeast of Aghmāt were Dāī and Tādala. Idrīsī[123] tells us that "Dāī is much visited by caravans. In it and the environs much cotton is cultivated, but less so than at Tādala which produces a considerable quantity which is exported in all directions. Nearly all the tissues (of cotton) used in the West Maghreb come from these lands. Because of this cotton they do not need to import any other kinds from other regions." In the territory of al-Sūs al-Aḳṣā "there are made in Sūs fine robes, and precious garments which cannot be made in any other country. . . . Their women have skill in craftsmanship." The Safsārī garments of the modern Wādī Nūn in southwest Morocco have already been mentioned, as well as "burnooses a pair of which is worth fifty dinars."[124]

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[113] Ibn Ḥawḳal, ed. J. H. Kramers, p. 80.

[114] *Description de l'Afrique,* ed. A. v. Kremer, p. 77.

[115] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 72 ff.

[116] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* I, 653.

[117] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 75.

[118] Ibn al-Khaṭīb, in M. J. Müller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der westlichen Araber* (München, 1876), I, 84.

[119] Leo Africanus, *op. cit.,* II, 37.

[120] Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *op. cit.,* I, 87.

[121] Muḥammad al-Ṣaghīr b. al-Ḥadjdj Muḥammad al-Wufrānī, *Nozhet-el-Hâdi, Histoire de la Dynastie Saadienne au Maroc* (1511–1690), ed. and trans. by O. Houdas, *P.E.L.O.V.,* III, II, 109, and III, 188. In a footnote the editor says, "La tenture dite Ḥā'iṭī se place derrière les sofas; les dessins qui les ornent représentent généralement des colonnades avec arceaux et sont formés à l'aide de morceaux d'étoffes rapportés sur un fond uni."

[122] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 66.

[123] *Ibid.,* text, p. 74 ff.

Twelve days away from Aghmāt and six from Fez was Sūḳ Fansūr[125] of which Bakrī[126] says: "Black burnooses are made there of so close a weave that they are rain-proof."

Other inland cities which were mostly trading-centers for the Arabs with Africa are mentioned by most of the travelers in those regions, often with details of some considerable sociological and ethnological interest. Some of the more important are noted here.

Speaking of Iwālātan, Ibn Baṭūṭa[127] says: "This place is two complete months away from Sidjilmāsa and the first place in the negro country. . . . The garments of its inhabitants are lovely and imported from Egypt." Idrīsī[128] remarks that Takrūr (French Toucouleur in Senegal) is larger and has more trade than Salā. The inhabitants of the west of al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā take wool, copper, and glass beads there, and bring back gold and slaves. Gold was the only really important product of this part of Africa, and Maghribi gold is often mentioned in early authors and was used in embroidery.

Another famous city of this type was Awdāghast of which Bakrī[129] says: "Garments with large skirts dyed red and blue are sent to this city." Yāḳūt[130] talks of its markets. It has now disappeared (it was fifty-one days from Sidjilmāsa).

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[124] *Ibid.,* text, p. 59.

[125] Quatremère's edition of al-Bakrī's *Description de l'Afrique* has Fikūr.

[126] Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique,* ed. de Slane, p. 294.

[127] Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), IV, 385 ff.

[128] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* text, p. 3.

[129] Al-Bakrī, *op. cit.,* p. 301.

[130] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* I, 399. For this city see 'Umarī, ed. M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.,* pp. 44 and 47, and G. Yver, "Awdaglost," *Encyl. Islām,* I, 516. According to Yver this city is probably between long. 10 and 11 degrees west of Greenwich, southwest of the military station of Tidjika in French Mauretania.

CHAPTER XIX

SICILY

THE ISLAND OF SICILY WAS ATTACKED BY THE Arabs in 212 H. (827 A.D.) by an expedition despatched from Sūsa by the Aghlabid ruler of Ḳairawān. A little after this Palermo, the capital, fell into Muslim hands. Only in 354 H. (965 A.D.) were the Muslims, who were composed of various racial elements, Arabs, Berbers, Spaniards, and others, really masters of the island.

In the year 300 H. (912–3 A.D.), the Caliph of Baghdad invested a certain virtually independent governor with the insignia of his approval as his deputy. The work entitled *al-Bayān al-Mughrib* [1] tells us that "the Caliph sent him the required investiture, and also standards and garments colored black, as well as a collar of gold." A little over half a century later, Ibn Ḥawḳal [2] speaks of a quarter in Palermo called al-Ḥāra al-Djadīda, or The New Quarter, in which there were various markets including a Sūḳ al-Ṭirāzīyīn, or Market of the Makers of Ṭirāz-stuffs. This quarter was presumably built some time after the capture of Palermo by the Muslims. Its foundation would then lie between that date and Ibn Ḥawḳal's notice (367 H. [978 A.D.]). The author remarks that the sultan has an arsenal (dār al-ṣināʻa) there, and that there were places called "The Cotton-dealers" (ḳaṭṭānūn), and the "Carders" (of cloth, ḥalládjūn).

Again he [3] says: "Its sole excellencies are wool, and goat-hair (shaʻr) . . . along with some linen garments, but it is only right that justice should be done to those, for they have no parallel in excellence and cheapness. The tailored kind, cut into two pieces of fifty to sixty quarters (rubāʻī—some cloth measure?) is more expensive than the corresponding cloth sold at Miṣr (Cairo), often at fifty to sixty dinars." Maḳdisī [4] confines himself to remarking that "from Sicily come excellent close-woven (maʻṣūr) garments;" but he also found that "from Āmid there come garments of Rūmī wool and linen after the Sicilian manufacture." [5]

Nāṣir-i Khusraw [6] informs us that "Sicily belongs to the Sultan of Egypt, and they bring thence linen stuffs of great fineness, and pieces of cloth with borders (tafṣīlhā bā ʻalam), each one of which is worth the sum of ten dinars in Miṣr (Cairo)." The lady Rashīda, the aunt of al-Ḥākim, who died during his reign (386–411 H. [997–1021 A.D.]) left, among other valuables, thirty thousand Sicilian pieces of cloth (shikka Ṣiḳilīya).[7]

Idrīsī [8] who should be in a position to inform us about Sicily as his book was written at the behest of his patron, the Norman Roger II, gives only the short note that at San Marco much silk (ḥarīr) is produced, and Milazzo (Mīlāṣ) produces linen.

The city of Palermo was taken by the

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[1] Ibn ʻAdhārī, *Histoire de l'Afrique et de l'Espagne. . . . Al-Bayano 'l-Mogrib,* ed. by R. P. A. Dozy (Leyden, 1848–51), II, 169, trans. E. Fagnan (Alger, 1901–4), II, 235.

[2] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum,* ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed., Leyden, 1938–39), p. 119.

[3] *Ibid.,* p. 131.

[4] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1876, 2d ed., 1906), III, 239.

[5] *Ibid.,* p. 145.

[6] Nāṣir-i Khusraw, *Safar-nāma,* ed. and trans. by C. Schefer, *Relation du Voyage de Nassiri Khosrau, Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (=*P.E.L.O.V.*) (Paris, 1881), II, I, text, p. 41, trans., p. 112.

[7] Yūsuf ibn Taghrībirdī, *Abû 'l-Maḥâsin ibn Taghrî-Birdî's Annals, al-Nudjūm al-Ẓāhira,* ed. W. Popper, *Univ. California Publ. in Semitic Philology* (Berkeley, 1900–), II, 78.

[8] Idrīsī, *L'Italia descritta nel "Libro del Re Ruggero,"* trans. by M. Amari and C. Schiaparelli, *Atti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* (Rome, 1883), II, VIII, 254.

Normans in 464 H. (1071 A.D.) under Roger de Hauteville, and during their rule alone did Sicily have peace in which its people could rest secure. Arab culture continued to flourish, and it was even said that Roger himself was a Muslim. Travelers did not cease to visit the island, notably Ibn D̲jubair [9] (who performed the journey in 580 H. [1184 A.D.]). As an actual eye-witness, he was far better informed than other writers, and alludes to the ṭirāz-factory there. Speaking of the castle of William the Good (1166–89), he says: "His above-mentioned servant whose name was Yaḥyā, one of the lads employed in the ṭirāz-factory who used to embroider (ṭarraza) with gold in the King's ṭirāz, told us that the Frankish women become Muslims in his castle and are visited by the above-mentioned girls, but they keep that concealed from their king."

Amari [10] opines that the ṭirāz existed before Norman times, though it is popularly related that the silk workers carried off by Roger's (II) admiral from Thebes and Peleponnesus in 441 H. (1149 A.D.) founded the factory. It was in Thebes that Benjamin noticed many Jewish dyers of purple cloth. The Norman-Arab factory is well known to historians, and the *Répertoire chronologique* cites examples of it products, one of which, composed of silk, is dated as early as 528 H. (1133–4 A.D.). It was made at the "King's Wardrobe" (k̲h̲izāna al-malik) in the capital of Sicily (Madīna al-Ṣiḳilīya).[11] Grohmann claims that Palermo produced finely woven stuffs up till the thirteenth century. The cultural influences seem to have been African rather than Spanish, though a vigorous trade was carried on with that country in Ibn D̲jubair's time.

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[9] Ibn D̲jubair, "Voyage en Sicile," text and trans. by M. Amari, *Journ. Asiatique* (1845), XIX, 35.

[10] Amari, *loc. cit.,* notes; "Il suffit d'avoir lu un peu l'histoire de Sicile pour se rappeler qu'il existait dans le palais royal de Palerme, une manufacture d'étoffes de soie, fondée à ce que l'on dit, par le roi Roger, au moyen des ouvriers que sa flotte avait fait prisonniers en Morée l'année 1149. Je suis persuadé que cette manufacture existait longtemps avant, et que les captifs, hommes et femmes ne firent qu'augmenter le nombre des ouvriers."

[11] See the *Répertoire chronologique d'épigraphie arabe,* ed. É. Combe, J. Sauvaget, et G. Wiet (Le Caire, 1933–44), VIII, 184, the example reproduced in G. Migeon, *Les Arts du tissu* (Paris, 1929), p. 55. Examples are also reproduced in O. v. Falke, *Decorative Silks* (3d ed., London, 1936).

CHAPTER XX

ASIA MINOR OF MONGOL TIMES

THE SELJUK CONQUEST OF ASIA MINOR IN the eleventh century brought territory that had previously been Byzantine into the sphere of Islam (Map 16). Some disconnected fragments of information on the manufactures of those cities which were later to become so famous for their carpets, still remain. Abu 'l-Fidā'[1] quotes Ibn Sa'īd (ob. 673 H. [1274 A.D.]) concerning the Turkomans: "It is there that the Turcoman carpets (al-busuṭ al-Turkumānīya) are made which are exported to all countries." Marco Polo says:[2]

> The other two classes (in Turcomania besides the Turcomans) are the Armenians and Greeks, who live mixt with the former in towns and villages, occupying themselves with trades and handicrafts. They weave the finest and handsomest carpets in the world, and also a great quantity of fine and rich silks of cramoisy (ḳirmizī) and other colors, and plenty of other stuffs. Their chief cities are Konya (Ḳūniya), Savast (Sīwās), and Caesaria (Ḳaiṣarīya).

Mustawfī gives the following cities as producing cotton: Sīwās, Konya, Malaṭiya, Angora (Anḳūra), Irbīl, and Arzan.[3]

It is very probable that the Armenians, driven out of their native land into what is known as Lesser Armenia, brought with them many of their local manufactures which were so famed in the first centuries of Arab rule. Bidlīsī[4] tells us that some Armenians established themselves at Pazadjiḳ (Bazardjiḳ) near Mar'ash, and made a village, of which all the inhabitants, weavers by profession, are infidel Armenians. According to Ibn Baṭūṭa,[5] Sīs in Armenia makes stuffs called Dabīzī.[6] Of Laias (the classical Aegae), Marco Polo[7] tells us: "You must know that all the spicery and cloths of silk and gold, and the other valuable wares that come from the interior, are brought to that city. And the merchants of Venice and Genoa, and other countries, come thither to sell their goods, and to buy what they lack."

Abu'l-Fidā'[8] quotes Ibn Sa'īd for the manufacture of beautiful carpets (busuṭ milāḥ) at Aḳsarā (Ak-Sarai), and Ibn Baṭūṭa[9] tells us that "there are made here carpets (busuṭ), called after it, manufactured of sheep's wool and there is not their equal in any other city. They are exported to Egypt, Syria, Iraq, India, China, and the land of Turks."

In Lādhiḳ (the ancient Laodicea), according to Ibn Baṭūṭa,[10] "they make cotton cloth (thiyāb) here with borders (mu'lama) of gold, without any parallel; these last a long time because of the excellent quality of the cotton and the strength of the weaving. They are called after the town. Most of the people who carry on the work are Greek women, and there are many Greeks 'under protection' here."

'Umarī (700–48 H. [1301–48 A.D.])[11] tells us of the kingdom of Akīrā south of

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[1] Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān,* ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 379, trans. (Paris, 1847–83), II, 134.

[2] H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian* (London, 1871), I, 45 f.

[3] Ḥāmd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 95, 102, 98.

[4] Sharaf Khan Bidlīsī, *Scheref Nameh ou Fastes de la Nation Kourde,* trans. by F. B. Charmoy (St. Petersburg, 1868–75), I, I, 241.

[5] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), I, 163.

[6] This is a doubtful reading with several variants.

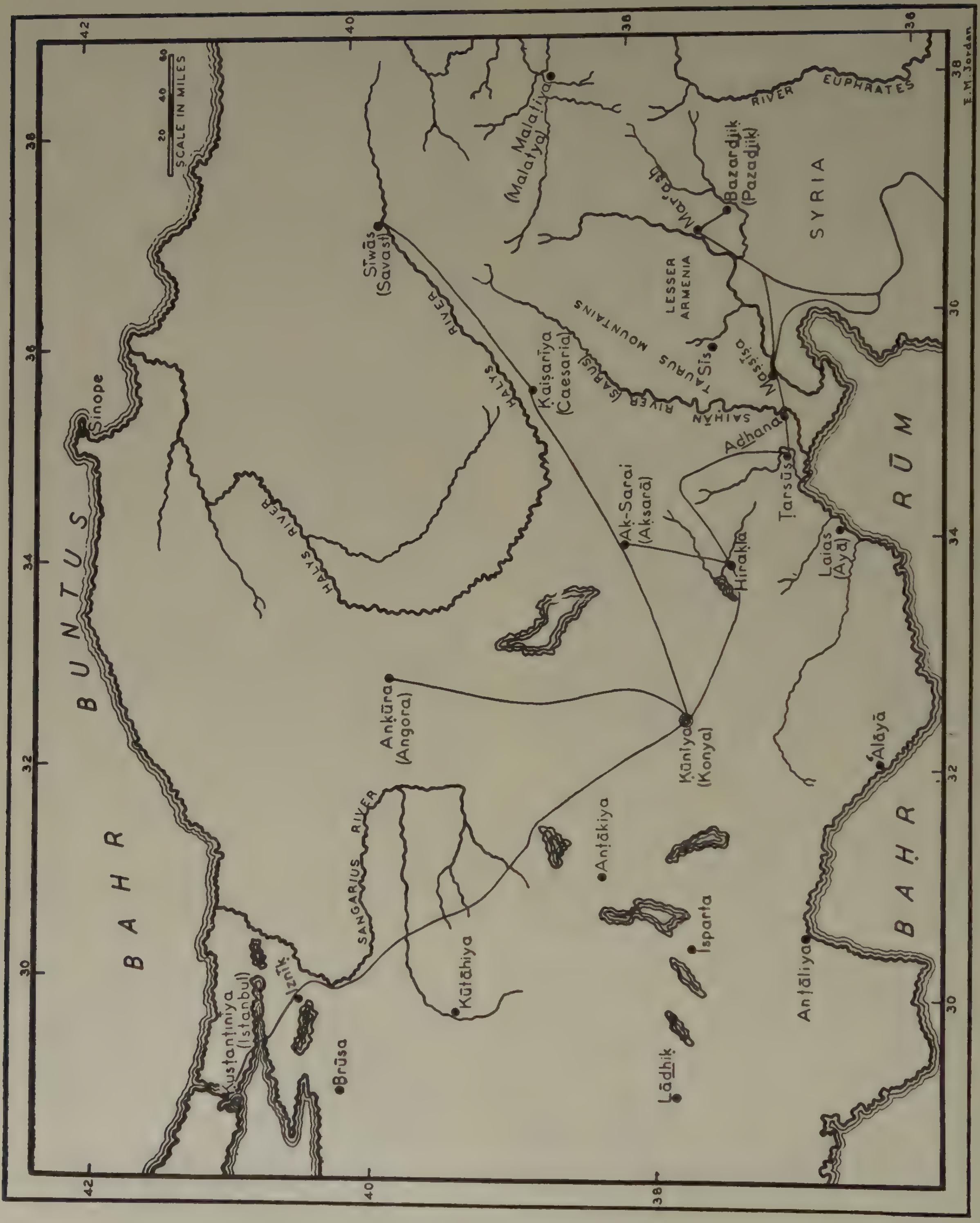
[7] Yule, *op. cit.,* I, 43.

[8] Abu 'l-Fidā', *op. cit.,* text, p. 383, trans., II, 137.

[9] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.,* II, 286.

[10] *Ibid.,* II, 271.

[11] 'Umarī, *Al-'Umarī's Bericht über Anatolien in seinem Werke Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār,* ed. F. Taeschner (Leipzig, 1929), p. 43. There seems some doubt about the name Akīrā.


BAHR BUNTUS
BAHR RŪM
SYRIA
LESSER ARMENIA
TAURUS MOUNTAINS
SCALE IN MILES
20
40
60
Sinope
Sīwās (Savast)
Malaṭiya (Malatya)
Mar'ash
Bazardjik (Pazadjik)
EUPHRATES RIVER
HALYS RIVER
SAIḤĀN RIVER (SARUS)
SANGARIUS RIVER
Ḳaiṣarīya (Caesaria)
Sīs
Maṣṣīṣa
Adhana
Ṭarsūs
Ak-Sarai (Aḳsarā)
Hiraḳla
Laias (Ayā)
Anḳūra (Angora)
Ḳūnīya (Konya)
Anṭākiya
Isparta
Kūtāhiya
Iznīḳ
Ḳusṭanṭiniya (Istanbul)
Brūsa
Lādhiḳ
Anṭāliya
'Alāyā
42
40
38
36
34
32
30
E.M. Jordan

MAP 16—TEXTILE CENTERS IN ASIA MINOR DURING THE MONGOL PERIOD

Sinope, a province on the northern border of the dominions of the Urkhān, and with Djabal al-Ḳasīs to the south of it. "From this country come inestimable quantities of silk (ḥarīr) and laudanum which are taken to the Christian countries. Its silk is quite equal to Byzantine (Rūmī) brocade and cloth (ḳumāsh) of Constantinople. Most of it is exported."

PIERRE BELON

This Frenchman published a book of travel in Paris in the year 1555 which contains some details of considerable interest about the Turkey carpets of his time:[12]

> Tous les tapiz coupez qu'on on apporte de Turquie sont seulement faits depuis la ville de Cogné (Konia) en Cilicie, iusques à Carachara, ville de Paphlagonie. Nous avons dit que les fins chamelots sont faits de poils de chevres à Angouri, qui est la premiere ville de Cappadoce: et les tapiz sont aussi faits de poil de chevres: mais ceux qu'on fait au Caire, ne sont guere beaux, car ils sont seulement tissuz en toile bigarée (the latter word may be the equivalent of the Arabic Abū Ḳalamūn). Ceux de Adena sont faits en feutres, fort legers et mols, à se coucher dessus. . . . Les femmes Iuifs, qui ont liberté d'aller le visage descouvert, sont communement par les marchez de Turquie, vendents des ouvrages faits à l'aiguille.[13] . . . Elles vendent ordinairement serviettes, mouchouers, couurechefs, ceintures blanches, souilles d'orilliers et autres tels ouvrages de plus grande valeur comme pauillons de licts en diverses façons que les Iuifs achetent pour vendre aux estrangers. Les Turcs prennent plaisir à avoir du linge blanc, et bien ouuré tellement qu'ils ne plaindront à y faire despence. L'on voirra vendre deux petits mouchouers ouvrez vingt aspres, desquels nous ne presenterions six sols au pays de France. L'on fait divers ouvrages sur le linge en Turquie, mais le plus commun est tel, que quand elles le veulent piquer, il faut premierement qu'elles desseignent la toile de peinture: laquelle puis suyuent entre deux fils, tellement que l'ouvrage represente la peinture. Nous n'avons point telle maniere d'ouvrage en usage, ne la maniere de piquer. Car les femmes suyuent l'entredeux des fils avec une aiguille fort deliée, en suyuant la peinture, elles font leurs ouvrages de diverses colours de soye. A peine pourroit on croire en noz pays que l'ouvrage sur le linge est bien receu et tenu cher en Turquie: et que l'on y en fait grande quantité. La raison est, que puisque les femmes sont ordinairement enfermées et qu'elles n'ont aucun mesnage à faire, aumoins qu'elles employent à faire quelque chose. Et elles n'ayants le filer en grand usage, passent leur temps à faire ouvrages en linge.

Of the silk manufactures of Turkey, he says:[14]

> Les Turcs quelques habillements qu'ils facent, ou de drap, de soye, chamelot, ou Moncayar: ils les cousent de fine soye, et font cousture qui dure plus que le drap. Nous osons dire que les habillements qui sont cousus en Turquie ne sont nullement cousus que de fil de soye qui principalement est filé à Bourca (Broussa). Les cousturiers de Turquie, si l'on fait comparaison de leurs ouvrages à ceux qui sont cousus en Europe, cousent toutes besognes mieux et plus elegamment que ne font ceux du pais des Latins, tellement que l'on diroit que l'ouvrage d'Europe n'est que ravavdage au pris de leur: car quelque chose que ce soit, est si proprement reprins qu'on n'en voit point les coustures, et quelque ouvrage qu'ils faient, est si bien fait qu'on n'en sçaurait que redire.

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[12] P. Belon, *Les Observations de plusieurs singularitez* (Paris, 1588), fol. 182 b.

[13] Though he says that Turkish women do sometimes sell goods despite the law.

[14] Belon, *op. cit.*, fol. 204 a.

CHAPTER XXI

SEA-WOOL

IN SPAIN AND NORTH AFRICA, A CERTAIN kind of cloth was made out of the threads of a large mollusk called *Pinna marina,* a genus of bivalve mollusks having a silk byssus or beard. This was known to the Arabs under the name of "sea-wool" (ṣūf al-baḥr). According to Dozy,[1] this kind of manufacture was as ancient as classical times and, indeed, is still practiced in Italy. Ignorant of the precise nature of this stuff, the Arab authors make some curious mistakes in their allusions to it. The earliest and most correct author who has heard of it is Iṣṭak͟hrī [2] who says:

> In S͟hantarīn (Santarem), at a certain time of the year, an animal comes forth from the sea, and rubs itself on the stones of the seashore and a down (wabar) as soft as k͟hazz-silk with a golden color, lacking in nothing, falls off it. It is fine and small, and garments are woven from it which take on different colors during the day. The Umayyad kings (of Spain) used to put restrictions upon it, so that it was only exported secretly. The price of a garment is worth more than a hundred dinars, on account of its fineness and beauty.

This passage is reproduced in Maḳdisī [3] with some additional details:

> The marvels of this province (the Maghreb including Spain) are many, one of them being Abū Ḳalamūn. It is an animal which rubs itself on the banks of the seashore so that its down (wabar) falls from it. It is soft like k͟hazz-silk, of a golden color, lacking nothing of that, and it is fine to the touch. It is collected and garments are woven of it which take on various colors during the day. The sultan prevents the export of it to other countries, apart from that which is hidden from them. Sometimes the value of a garment of it reaches a thousand dinars.

This "sea-wool" has already been mentioned among the gifts which Manṣūr gave to the Christian princes in Spain in 387 H. (997 A.D.), but as compared with the 2285 pieces of ṭirāzī silk, there were only 21 pieces of this fabric.

Under the notice on the city of Saragossa, Yāḳūt [4] informs us that the inhabitants were specially skilled in the manufacture of the sable (sammūr) which he seems to think is a woven stuff made in their factories and called Saraḳusṭī stuff after it. The same confusion exists in Maḳḳarī [5] who cites al-Ḥid͟jārī (of the early twelfth century): "The sammūr (sable) from the down of which the valuable furs are made, is found in the Atlantic (al-Baḥr al-Muḥīṭ) in Andalus in the direction of the island of Britain, and imported to Saragossa where it is manufactured." In this passage he seems to be talking of the seal, but he quotes another author: "When Ibn G͟hālib mentioned the down of the sable which is manufactured in Cordova, he said: 'As regards this above-mentioned sable, I am uncertain what is meant by the term, whether it is a plant there, or the down of the known animal. If it is the known animal it is in the sea and comes to the land. It has great power of distinction.'" Both Maḳḳarī and Yāḳūt quote similar legends about this animal, which, I think, must refer to the *Pinna marina.*

The other province where this stuff was made was Africa in the town of Ṣafāḳus, which was a noted textile-manufacturing city also.

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[1] See R. Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes,* 2d ed. (Paris, 1927), under ṣūf al-baḥr.

[2] Iṣṭak͟hrī, *Viae regnorum . . .,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1870), I, 42.

[3] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed., 1906), III, 240.

[4] Yāḳūt, *Muʿd͟jam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), III, 78.

[5] Maḳḳarī, *Analectes sur l' histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagne,* ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855–61), I, 121.

ʿUmarī[6] quoting an earlier source shows us the wide area where those garments were used:

The Sultan (of Ifrīḳīya), according to Ibn Bannūn, is distinguished from other people by wearing garments of k͟hazz-silk of a black-green color named nut-colored (d̲jawzī), dust-colored (g̲hubārī) and Nafṭī (from the town of Nafṭa). This silk is extracted from the sea, says Ibn Saʿīd, at Ṣafāḳus in the Mag̲hreb and I have seen how it is gathered. Divers dive into the sea and bring out tubers like onions with a kind of neck which has hairs on the upper part. These tubers like onions, burst, and let forth hairs (threads) which are combed and become like wool. They spin it and make a woof of it so as to pass a warp of silk through it. They make a checked (muk͟hattam) stuff or stuff without checks. The most magnificent royal garments at Tunis are made of them. The price of a garment sometimes reaches a thousand dinars of Egyptian or Syrian money. I may add that I have seen high secretaries of the offices of Damascus wearing those garments, then I saw them worn at Cairo by the secretaries. It is what the Egyptians call fish-down (wabar al-samak).[7]

The traveler Tīd̲jānī (703–8 H. [1306–9 A.D.])[8] confirms this: "There is found in its (Ṣafāḳus) seas, the wool of which the fine tissues destined to be worn by the princes are manufactured." It is probable that wherever there were manufactures of this sea-wool, there were also ṭirāz-factories belonging to the reigning monarch for it seems to have been a royal monopoly. Perhaps it is that material which Dimas̲h̲ḳī[9] intends when he talks of a fish which is dried and made into cotton and clothes called s m kīn are made of it. This fish was found in the Yemen Sea.

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[6] ʿUmarī, *Masālik al-Abṣār fī Mamālik al-Amṣār,* trans. by M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *I. L'Afrique moins l'Égypte (Bibliothèque des géographes arabes,* II) (Paris, 1927), 126.

[7] Cf. Ḳalḳas̲h̲andī, *Ṣubḥ al-Aʿs̲h̲ā* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), V, 142.

[8] Al-Tīd̲jānī, "Voyage du Scheikh et-Tidjani," (partial) trans. by A. Rousseau, *Journ. Asiatique* (1852), IV, XX, 128.

[9] Al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *Cosmographie de Chems-ed-Din . . . ed-Dimichqui, texte arabe,* ed. M. A. F. Mehren (St. Petersburg, 1866), p. 165, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen âge,* trans. M. A. F. Mehren (Copenhagen, 1874), p. 222. A stuff of this name is also described by Ibn al-Baiṭār.

CHAPTER XXII

TECHNICAL METHODS

THE ARAB AND PERSIAN AUTHORS DISPLAY little interest in manufacturing processes and the earlier the author the truer this statement is. However the manuals of ḥisba have preserved some indications of the technical methods of the craftsmen of their time, and this is specially true in regard to silk. We have several accounts of the rearing of the silk-worm in the works of naturalists. The following is Ḳazwīnī's version of the process:

> An account of the silk-worm (dūd al-ḳazz). It is a small animal which, when it has been sufficiently looked after, seeks its natural habitat among trees and thorns. It passes fine threads from its saliva, and weaves a cocoon round itself like a bag so as to obtain protection from heat and cold, wind and rain. It sleeps until a certain time—all that by instinct. The nature of its preservation is one of the wonders of the world. It takes place in this wise, that, at the beginning of Spring (Rabīʿ), when the mulberry leaf appears, they take the eggs and tie them in a rag, then the women place this under their breasts so that the heat of the body may affect them for a week, then they are spread on some mulberry leaves shredded with the scissors. The thing moves and eats some of this leaf; then it eats no more for three days, and they say that it is in its first sleep. Then it starts eating again, and eats for a week, then leaves off eating for three days, and they say that it is in its second sleep. The same happens once more, and they say that it is in its third sleep.
>
> After that a great deal of fodder is allowed to it so that it may eat largely and begin to form the cocoon (failad̲j̲). Thereupon something like the web of the spider appears upon its body. If rain falls at this period, the cocoon becomes soft with the moisture of the dampness so that the worm pierces it and comes forth from it. When the worm has completed the formation of the cocoon it is exposed to the sun so that the worm may die in it, and the ibrīs̲h̲m-silk be taken from the cocoon. Some of the cocoons however are left for the worm to pierce them and come forth to lay eggs. These are collected and preserved for the coming year in a clean pot of clay (k̲h̲azaf) or glass. Ibrīs̲h̲m-silk garments are useful against itch and rubbing, and do not breed lice.[1]

Damīrī somewhat amplifies this account of which the most important parts are extracted and set forth here:

> It comes forth in warmish localities without being hatched if it is tied up in a purse or placed in a casket. Sometimes it is late in coming out, upon which the women tie it up and place it under their breasts. . . . A white rug is placed to catch the eggs of the females. After this both die. That is what is done if it is desired to have the eggs, but if it is desired to have the silk, ten days after its finishing the process of weaving a cocoon, it is left in the sun for a day or part of a day, upon which it dies. . . . Sometimes it is squeezed with the hand until it dies, so that the silk may not be torn and it may come off entire.[2]

Miskawaihi[3] hints at a machine for spinning silk, but unfortunately, the text is not really altogether precise.

> "Have you ever seen the ibrīsm-silk spinner winding it (silk ?) on a number of distaffs (mig̲h̲zal) attached to hooks on polo-sticks (sawlad̲j̲ān) (as it were) of glass? I said I had—he went on: Do you not know that all the trouble of the worker consists in setting up and arranging the machine; after that he has only to watch the tails of the distaffs and keep on twisting them? Now we have arranged the machines, the distaffs that are revolving, the silk is taut, and the winding is proceeding; but if we leave the place, the force of the revolution will weaken, there being no motor power to renovate it; it will begin to slacken, the velocity of the revolution of the distaff will be reduced, and they will begin to unwind, revolving to the inverse direction. No one will be there

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[1] Ḳazwīnī, *el-Cazwini's Kosmographie,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Göttingen, 1846–48), I, 434.

[2] Damīri, *Kitāb al-Ḥayawān,* trans. by A. S. G. Jayakar (London-Bombay, 1906–8), I, 795. Cf. J. Stephenson, *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaufī al-Qazwīnī* (London, 1928), text, p. 58, trans., p. 41, and T. Herbert, *Travels in Persia 1627–1629,* ed. Sir W. Foster, Broadway Travellers (London, 1928), p. 171.

[3] Miskawaihī, *The Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate,* ed. and trans. by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth (Oxford, 1920–21), text, II, 230, trans., V, 244.

to attend them, so that, one by one, they will fall off, and finally none remain.

Regulations for the manufacture of spindles are to be found in Ibn 'Abdūn: "The muḥtasib must prevent the weavers (g̲h̲azzāl) from nailing the iron of the spindles (mig̲h̲zal) for they come out by the loosening effect of what is being spun from them, very soon, and that is a cause of their crookedness."[4] Other regulations are given by the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba:* "Spindle-makers. They must not use any wood for spindles (mirdan) other than that of the sāsam, or red mimosa nilotica (sanṭ), free of knots and worm. For if it is hollow and a woman spins with it, it breaks straightaway. The same applies to the copper (naḥās) used therein, which must be hammered brass (naḥās aṣfar maḍrūb). They must not make them hollow but solid."[5]

The same author informs us about further processes in the preparation of silk:

> Silk-makers. Raw silk (ḥarīr al-ḳazz) must not be dyed before being bleached in order that it may not afterwards deteriorate. But some do it in order to get an increase in weight. Some mix Syrian silk (al-ḥarīr al-S̲h̲a'mī) with local (baladī) silk and sell it as Syrian; and they mix dyed ḳazz-silk with dyed ḳaṭāris̲h̲ (silk ?). Some weight silk with prepared starch, others with melted butter or olive-oil. Some mingle with the skein a quantity of some other material for purposes of fraud.
>
> Dyers. Most dyers of red silk (ḥarīr) and other thread and materials, dye in their workshops (ḥānūt) with henna instead of madder (fuwwa) and the dye appears bright; but when the sun strikes in, its color deteriorates and its brightness disappears. Some take money from a customer to dye kuḥlī (a dark blue verging on black). They dip the stuff into a substance called d̲j̲arrāda (locust), remove and treat it with froth from the vat and return it to the owner. It is not long before it reverts to its original color. On each article, the owner's name must be written in ink lest it be changed for something else. Most dyers pledge their customers' property or hire it to persons who wear it. This is dishonesty.[6]

Thus speaks the Egyptian author of the latter half of the thirteenth century, and similar material is to be found in the Spanish manual of ḥisba by al-Saḳaṭī of Malaga about the close of the eleventh century.[7]

"Another fradulent practice in the manufacture of veils (ḳunū') of silk, and turbans of twisted silk ('amā'im maftūla ?) or turbans twisted in a ready-made form,[8] is that they make them of raw silk (ḥarīr naiy), dye them kuḥlī, and pour gum (ṣamg̲h̲) on them. That is fraud and trickery, because, when worn a little, the threads give, and the fabric becomes like a net of no use to anybody." In this connection it might be well to quote Bakrī who lived about the same period: "At Awdāg̲h̲ast one sees gum-trees whose products are sent to Spain where they are used to glaze (lustrer) silken stuffs (dībād̲j̲)."[9]

Despite the injunctions of the muḥtasibs, this seems to have been a recognized practice of weavers for we find a description of it in the *Arabian Nights*[10] where the scene is set in Khurasan, though the final form of this work took shape in Mameluke Egypt:

> On the following morning the damsel took the curtain (she had told her lover to buy "a piece of

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[4] Ibn 'Abdūn, *"Un document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers à Seville au début du xii-ième siècle: le traité d'Ibn 'Abdūn,"* ed. and trans. by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Journ. Asiatique,* CCXXIV (1934), 251, text, p. 59.

[5] Ibn al-Uk̲h̲uwwa, *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba,* ed. R. Levy, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1938), n.s., XII, No. 279.

[6] *Ibid.,* No. 176.

[7] Al-Saḳaṭī, *Un Manuel hispanique de ḥisba,* ed. by G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (Paris, 1931), *Publ. de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines,* XXI, p. 62.

[8] Compare the turbans made at Ḳal'a Ḥammād (Chapter XVIII, note 79), perhaps after this type.

[9] Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale,* trans. by M. de Slane (Alger, 1913), p. 299. "Glaze," literally "to gum" (ṣamag̲h̲), with the gum known as "gum Arabic"?

[10] *The Arabian Nights,* trans. by E. W. Lane (New York, 1927), p. 493.

silk as much as will suffice for a curtain, and gold and silver thread [ḳaṣab aṣfar wa-abyaḍ] and silk thread of seven different colors") and worked a border to it (ṭarraza) with colored silk, and embroidered (zarkas͟ha) it with the ḳaṣab, and placed a girdle in it with the figures of birds. Around it she placed figures of wild beasts, and there was not a wild beast in the world that she omitted to portray upon it. She continued working upon it for eight days and when it was finished she cut it and glazed it[11] and then gave it to her master, saying to him: "Repair with it to the market, and sell it for fifty pieces of gold."

The passage seems to portray a Persian rather than an Egyptian scene, but whatever the case may be it confirms the supposition that a great many of the finest fabrics were made in private houses by the women.

Again we must turn to the work of al-Saḳaṭī for information about silk tailoring and marketing:[12]

Now the silk-brokers have a kind of trick for raising the price in their selling and buying. It lies in that they sell, and then buy from another, and take both commissions, one from the seller for selling, and one from the buyer for buying. They raise the price of silk when it is being put up for sale, their aim being merely to sell it to others, not to buy it themselves. This is how they act with silk garments (ḥarīr), selling them for ready cash, and on credit. They add borders (rasm) of gold for that is a sought-after thing therein, and a piece of silk is valued according to the two borders. All this is profiteering (ribā'), which is against the law.

Another of their fraudulent practices is that the first border (rasm) of the garment does not resemble the second in fineness of gold, pleasing workmanship and excellence of manufacture. The garment is lacking in woof (ḳaiyim) and of little worth for making into garments, and sometimes its length and breadth are too short, and things after this fashion. The usual size is sixteen d͟hirā' in length and four spans (s͟hibr) in breadth. It used to be made in fifty-two baits (divisions of a weaver's comb), and weigh from sixteen ounces. Sometimes it is less, but that is fradudulent and criminal. Material which is less than forty-two baits in the loom, and lighter than eleven ounces in weight, is bad, and the manufacture of it must be prohibited, and must be cut if found.

Linen thread differs from silk (ḥarīr) thread in the loom (minsad͟j). Whatever is fine has many baits and is light in weight, that being because silk thread is all of one kind, but linen thread is of many kinds. The bait consists of forty teeth, and the number of threads is eighty, and the threads of the warp (? mut͟hla) are one hundred and twenty.[13]

Al-Saḳaṭī, Ibn 'Abdūn and the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba* all contain regulations for the tailors. The first tells us:

The muḥtasib must watch over the tailors to see that they do not sew with one thread only, nor yet with a whole (length of) thread, because it cannot be strong on account of its length, and the sewing will be loose. He must be on the watch for loose stitching of robes of cloth by the makers of garments "to order." Moreover there have been cases of persons who have fraudulently put sand in the hollow of the plate of the balance and taken cloth to the amount of that weight.

He must watch the "cutting" (tafṣīl), for there are some rascals among them who cut out the whole (correctly) but curtail those parts of the garment which correspond to the hips and the waist. They act in a similar fashion with regard to the rectangular pattern in which the garment is placed, so that it is narrow, and the cloth thus cut is stolen. Similarly they make the sleeves of the cloth of the robe (t͟hawb al-kisā') too narrow, and tack the sewing in it, wishing to make it (appear) bigger. When the robe is worn a little the threads escape, the various sections of it fall apart, and the purchaser is at a loss. Similarly they make the necks (ṭawḳ) of linen garments wide so as to appear complete on inspection. On being worn they hang down the side of the body of the wearer.[14]

Ibn 'Abdūn further says:

He (the muḥtasib) must prevent the kamd (action de donner le cati) of the garment of w r g͟h nāl (an unknown stuff) for it can scarcely be free from defects. He must place the control of that in the

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[11] This term "ṣaḳala" might mean "to iron," though it is translated thus by Lane as "glaze."

[12] Al-Saḳaṭī, *op. cit.,* pp. 61–62.

[13] Much of the translation of this author is at present uncertain, owing to the many strange words he uses.

[14] Al-Saḳaṭī, *op. cit.,* p. 62.

> hands of a man skilled in the art of ḥis͟hāya (the trade of the maker of padded or thick garments).
>
> He must prevent the workers at this trade (ḥas͟hs͟hā') and furriers (farrā') from making the openings at the neck of robes very wide; for they only do that so that the robe may lie flat on the wearer though it is too short. He must prevent the ḥas͟hs͟hā' from making the front parts of a furred robe (maḳādim) of the padded garments (maḥās͟hī), too long.
>
> If they make the cotton equal it is a fraud and a deceitful practice. It is necessary that ordinary silk should be sewn with a very thick thread for it is very fine and breaks easily.[15]

The *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba* says:

> Tailors must be ordered to cut out properly and shape the neck (ṭawḳ) well, to make the ornamental borders (taḏārīs) wide, the sleeves of equal length, and the skirts even. Raised seams are better than tacking. The needle is to be fine and the thread contained in the eye short—a long one frays and weakens. A valuable piece of stuff must be measured before it is cut out. Valuable stuff like silk or brocade must be accepted by weight only, and when the tailor has sewn it he must return it with the same weight to its owner. . . . Some will impregnate a piece of silk or the like with water and salt in order to increase its weight to correspond with what they receive. . . .
>
> If a customer brings a piece of stuff with orders, that if it is sufficient, it is to be made into a shirt, and the tailor cuts it without measuring and then finds it insufficient, the amount payable is the difference in value between the cloth as it was whole, and after it was cut.
>
> Repairers (raffā') must not repair a k͟hazz-silk garment received from a fuller or cloth-beater (daḳḳāḳ) except in the owner's presence. Embroiderers (muṭarriz) and ornament-stitchers (raḳḳām) must not transfer embroidery (raḳm) from one garment to another which fullers or cloth-beaters may bring them. . . . On each garment the owner's name must be written.[16]

During the course of this work various kinds of cloth have been mentioned without any exact specification as to their precise nature. Some of these stuffs are described in the *Maḥāsin al-Tid͟jāra,* but even here the description is vague.[17]

Of ibrīsm-silk, the author says: "The best variety is pure and lovely-colored in kind, free of all variations (in color or texture) and stains which confuse some of its threads. The thread should be of one shape, and not some coarse and some fine, nor bulging.[18] Good quality is recognised by the heaviness in weight and whenever I have seen a web (luḥma) of a heavy weight, it is better."

It seems to have differed from k͟hazz-silk which he describes as follows:

> Indications as to its quality are sought in its fringes (hudb) so as you may ascertain the strength of its warp (sadā). By touching it one seeks to ascertain the quality of the tissue (nasad͟j). Perception of its color adds to one's knowledge of the warp and the quality (lams). The largest size that it ought to be is fifteen d͟hirā' by a breadth of four spans (s͟hibr), but what is lesser is good. The best variety is that which has a close weave, is heavy in weight, and most closely resembles the asmaṭū (?) in its body (d͟jism). The worst variety is that which has a weak warp, is light in weight, lax of texture, pale of color, and of bad silk (ḥarīr).[19]

Dībād͟j (brocade) he describes in the following terms:

> There are various kinds. There is a kind used for clothing, another that is required for hangings and carpeting (fars͟h). The best variety is that which has a lovely dye (ṣibg͟h), a well-composed design (nuḳūs͟h), the silk (ḥarīr) of which is fine, the texture close, the color of which is bright, the weight heavy, and which is free of burns in the process of smoothing. The cheapest variety is that which lacks these qualities. The best variety for tailoring (tafṣīl) is 120 spans (s͟hibr); the kind used for carpeting (fars͟h) and for hangings is a cloth (t͟hawb) of two hundred spans (s͟hibr). If it is less than the kind usually used for a garment (kiswa) being less than enough in size, it is the greatest of faults for in that

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[15] Ibn 'Abdūn, *op. cit.,* pp. 57 and 249.

[16] Ibn al-Uk͟huwwa, *op. cit.,* No. 171 b ff.

[17] D͟ja'far ibn 'Alī al-Dimas͟hḳī, *al-Is͟hāra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tid͟jāra* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900 A.D.]), p. 25.

[18] Mug͟haddad, "swollen with anger."

[19] D͟ja'far ibn Ali al-Dimas͟hḳī, *op. cit.,* p. 26.

> case it cannot be cut and cannot be used. If a piece of cloth should be found of a similar kind nobody will allow a piece to be cut from that for it.[20]

Of siḳlāṭūn, ʿattābī and "cloth of one color" (muṣmat) which seem to be of the same nature, he says: "The best of all those is that which is made with the ḥaff (some kind of weaver's instrument), and not with the comb. In quality of silk and conditions it follows what has been described under brocade."[21]

The stuffs naṣāfī (usually made in Baghdad) and striped stuffs (abrād) are the subject of a long notice:

> The best kind of these is that which is free of blemishes and das͟htaka. The meaning of das͟htaka is that a robe should be worn unbleached (k͟hām) with its two selvages (ḥās͟hiya) joined, and it is sewn so that it becomes like the cloak (ridā'). Or it is used, then split and washed. Thus after profiting by its use, they seek that its coarseness should be lessened and that it should acquire softness, but the person who wears it does not gain any advantage by that at all. The way in which das͟htaka is recognised is that you look at rough garments and find them cut, and when you look at them to see through them you find places in them which have become so thin that they can almost be opened, and thick places. You look at the selvages and find them unsound because there are marks of the tailor in them. The quality of striped cloaks (burd), wrappers (fūṭa) and ʿattābī is perceived by the threads of different colors. If some of them run into others and they differ in fineness, thickness, and bulge, then they are bad. If they are correct and properly arranged in stripes (ṭarīḳa) this indicates good thread (g͟hazl) and excellent weave (nasad͟j), and good laundering.[22]

The naṣāfī seems to have been a robe of white silk and was used by the Mamelukes, but as far as I know it was not an early type of material.[23]

The brocade-stuff known as buzyūn is sometimes mentioned by our authors, but it seems generally to have been a Byzantine (Rūmī) fabric and is enumerated by Ibn al-Faḳīh among a list of imports obtained by the venturesomeness of merchants.[24] D͟jāḥiẓ describes the various kinds of this brocade:

> The best buzyūn-brocade is the miskī (musk-colored or musk-scented) of fine weave, then the striped (muk͟haṭṭaṭ) variety, then the robe which is embroidered with little circles like copper coins (mufallas), then the plain variety (without gold-sād͟hid͟j), then the robe embroidered with eyes (like those of wild animals—muʿaiyan), then the spotted kind (munaḳḳaṭ). The mantle (or head-dress g͟hifāra) of a musk-color when of fine workmanship and pure, sometimes fetches fifty dinars in price.[25]

This buzyūn, like the Armenian stuffs and Maisānī, was never interwoven with gold.

Various kinds of stuffs of this nature can, I think, be seen in the miniatures of the so-called "Mesopotamian School" of painting. In plate IV of Blochet's *Musulman Painting*, for instance, the figure on the extreme left may be wearing a checked (muk͟hattam) stuff. In plate VII, the Chinese slave may be wearing a robe of the type named mudannar (ornamented with golden coins), or mufallas (ornamented with copper coins). Again, the youth in plate XXII, and Iblīs in plate XXXII may be wearing muk͟hattam (checked) robes. Doubtless a study of the figures in the pottery of Rayy and other districts would yield quite a number of identifications of textiles which we only know at present by name.[26] Some of the textiles in Blochet have ṭirāzī arm-bands.

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[20] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[21] *Ibid.*, pp. 25–26.

[22] *Ibid.*, p. 27.

[23] M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'Époque des Mamlouks* (Paris, 1923), p. lxxxix.

[24] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1885), V, 50.

[25] D͟jāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tid͟jāra," ed. Ḥasan H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Rev. de l'Acad. Arabe de Damas*, XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 337.

[26] See the plates in E. Blochet, *Musulman Painting*, trans. by C. M. Binyon (London, 1929).

ṬIRĀZ INSCRIPTIONS

A great many garments bore ṭirāz-inscriptions of an official or sometimes sentimental nature, and a number of verses of this latter kind have been preserved by two authors, Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, and al-Was̲h̲s̲h̲ā’ author of the *Kitāb al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā.* While it is impossible to quote more than one or two of those verses here, it would be fruitful to notice the varied selection of articles of apparel on which it was customary to embroider them. This fashion was not confined to Baghdad, or even to Iraq, but was spread all over Islam and imitations of such ornamental borders are even found in Christendom as well. The *‘Iḳd* gives us the following verse which a lover wrote upon the brow of his mistress, but it is typical of those found in the ṭirāz-borders and cited there:

> Across her brow with musk
> Three lines I traced, as stray
> Soft moon-entangléd clouds;
> "God curse those who betray."
> Then took her hand and said,
> "List what it has to say.
> All things but faithlessness
> Love can dissolve away." [27]

The same author tells us, on the testimony of an eyewitness, that in Harun al-Rashid's court there were girls wearing headdresses (‘iṣāba, a kind of turban), decked with pearls and jacinth, with verses written upon them. Another of these girls wore a crescent on the front of her dress with verses inscribed in it, and a slave of al-Mutawakkil had a gown (ḳabā’) also inscribed. Other articles which bore such lovers' verses were tunics (ḳurṭuḳ), ḳalansuwa-caps, girdles (minṭaḳ), and shirts (dir‘) of raw silk (k̲h̲ām).

The *Kitāb al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā* gives an even more varied selection on all kinds of clothing. We read of a girl who wears a cloak (ridā’) embroidered with an all-over pattern with circles like eyes (mu‘aiyan) and a ṭirāz-border; there is another with a blouse (ḳamīṣ) of mulḥam-stuff, girt with an ornamented belt of gold (wis̲h̲āḥ), both the belt and the sleeves having a ṭirāz-inscription.[28] Another girl had a gown (durrā‘a) of mulḥam-stuff with ornaments of ibrīsm-silk, and a collar (lubna) of sūsand̲j̲ird upon which there was an inscription as well as on the sleeves. It seems too that Ras̲h̲īdī cloaks (ridā’) bore these inscriptions, and also miṭraf-cloaks of k̲h̲azz-silk.

Al-Was̲h̲s̲h̲ā’ tells us that a slave girl belonging to one of Ma’mūn's sons had a ḳalansuwa-cap of brocade embroidered after this fashion with verses, while D̲j̲āḥiẓ saw a girl's headdress (karzan) and ‘iṣaba each bearing couplets in gold. Even the wiḳāya (a band to hold the hair in place) was ornamented.

Again he talks of belts (zunnār), trouser-cords (tikka), and kerchiefs (or napkins, mandīl) which latter lovers used to send as presents to one another, all bearing inscriptions. The zunnār was a name applied to the bands used to tie up the hair also (zunnār al-wiḳāya).

The furnishings of the houses of private (and wealthy) individuals also had these amatory verses marked upon them. We read of curtains (sutūr), pillows (wasīda and mik̲h̲adda), carpets (busuṭ), and cushions marāfiḳ) of this kind, and he further mentions a curtain of azure silk (killa ḥarīr asmānd̲j̲ūnī) with a gold inscription. He includes verses which were seen on a curtain belonging to one of the children of Mutawakkil, and upon curtains belonging to al-Hādī ibn al-Mahdī. At this early date there were even prayer-carpets (muṣallā) with such inscriptions.[29]

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[27] Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *al-‘Iḳd al-Farīd* (Cairo, 1331 H. [1913 A.D.]), IV, 370 ff.

[28] Al-Was̲h̲s̲h̲ā’, *Kitāb al-Muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā,* ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), pp. 167, 168 (reading ترايين for ترانين), 169, 170, 173.

[29] *Ibid.,* pp. 176, 177, 178.

LINEN

A very complete account of the preparation of the flax is to be found in Ibn ʻAwwām in his treatise on agriculture, but as it is very long and the process does not materially differ from that in use in most countries, it has not been given here.[80] However a short passage from the *Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* might be worth quoting: "Many articles have various requirements, as in the case of flax (kattān) which, after wetting and maceration, must have the dust shaken off it, and must be beaten and combed (mashaṭa), spun and prepared (ṭabakha) followed by other processes of weaving."[81]

The *Maʻālim al-Ḳurba* says: "The best Egyptian flax is the white (?) dj nawī variety, and the best variety of that is the smooth-leaved, and the worst the short rough variety which snaps easily. The poor quality must not be mixed with the good nor that from Lower Egypt with that from Upper Egypt, nor that from Upper Egypt with the Kūrī variety; all such practices being fraudulent."[32] Djanawī should mean Genoese.

COTTON

The *Maḥāsin al-Tidjāra* says: "Its quality is perceived by weighing through weight, that which is lightest indicating that it contains the least amount of seed, and by inspection through its whiteness and freedom from husks (ḳushra), by easy falling apart, and touch, by resilience and softness."[83]

There is a somewhat similar passage in the *Maʻālim al-Ḳurba:*

> Cotton-spinners. They must not mingle new cotton with old, nor red with white. The cotton must be carded frequently so that the black husks and broken seeds shall be removed. If the seed is allowed to remain it shows in the weight, and if left in a djubba (mantle) or blanket (liḥāf), and washed and beaten, it will cut the article and the people's clothes will suffer damage. Some card the bad red cotton and place it at the bottom of the pile with clean white cotton on top and this does not appear in the spinning. . . . The carded cotton when finished, must not be placed in cold wet places, for that increases its weight which diminishes when it dries. That is fraud.[84]

FELTS

Al-Saḳaṭī of Malaga says: "He (the muḥtasib) must watch that the makers of felts (lubūd) do not make them of the wool of any thing that has died of itself. That is to be perceived by the difference in smell. Nor must they be made from the wool of the heads. That is to be perceived by its coarseness. They are made to seem good, and gum (ṣamgh), not starch (nashā), is poured (onto them)."[85] He gives specifications as to the required length, breadth, and weights of the felts, but unfortunately there is a lacuna here in each of the manuscripts. Ibn ʻAbdūn knows a similar regulation: "The felt-makers (labbād) must be ordered to perform their work well for they make them (the felts) lax, not close together, with little wool, and quite useless. The wool must be shaken thoroughly free of gypsum."[86]

The *Maʻālim al-Ḳurba* of Egyptian origin adds:

> A trustworthy member of their profession must be placed in charge of them. He must prevent them from using the wool of anything that has died of itself. That is distinguishable by its softness and ill-odor. Further, he must prevent them from using the wool of the heads—this is recognised by its roughness. The weight of a red felt must be four raṭls, and a blue one and a red saddle-felt (mirshaha), a raṭl and a half. The thread of all felts must be well

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[80] Ibn ʻAwwām, *Le Livre de l'agriculture d'Ibn al-Awam* (*Kitab al-felahah*), trans. by J. J. Clément-Mullet (Paris, 1864–67), II, 106–14.

[81] Djaʻfar ibn Ali al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

[82] Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *op. cit.*, No. 178.

[83] Djaʻfar ibn Ali al-Dimashḳī, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[84] Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *op. cit.*, No. 177.

[85] Al-Saḳaṭī, *op. cit.*, p. 68.

[86] Ibn ʻAbdūn, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

made, and the gum must be moistened without any wool-flock.[37]

The *Maḥāsin al-Tid̲j̲āra* written by a Damascan, says:

> The choicest variety is the kind with a fine weave, strong web, and pleasing color, and which is strong on account of the amount of its rubbing, and the wool of which is soft. The sign of softness is that when looked at from behind it is a uniform piece without any thin or thick place. The worst kinds are these which are contrary to these qualifications. He must be on the look-out for dust in them. They become worm-eaten when they remain some time without being used."[38]

According to D̲j̲āḥiẓ:

> "The best felts are the Chinese (Ṣīnī), then the red Mag̲h̲ribī variety, then the white Ṭāliḳān felts, then the Armenian variety, and then the Khurasan kind.[39]

VARIOUS NOTES

Of the two varieties of large carpets, called bisāṭ and ṭinfisa, the *Maḥāsin al-Tid̲j̲āra* says: "The best are those, the dye of which (ṣibg̲h̲) is good, and which are of close weave, and which from outside are firmer than from inside. For laxness indicates looseness of weave. As regards softness of wool, it is a good quality in all kinds."[40]

Of ḳalansuwa-hats, the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba* tells us: "The makers of ḳalansuwa-caps must use new pieces of stuff, either of silk or linen and not old dyed pieces. For there are some who (fake) that by starch (nas̲h̲ā) and gum (ṣamg̲h̲)."[41]

The following general regulations are to be found in the *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba* and seem to apply to all kinds of cloth:

> Regulations for Weavers (ḥāka).
>
> The stuff must be well-woven, compact in texture, and of the full length, breadth and workmanship agreed upon, the thread to be made free of black husks (ḳus̲h̲ra) by means of rough black stone. The muḥtasib must prevent them from sprinkling flour and roasted gypsum over it when it is woven to hide its roughness and so that it may appear as if closely woven and of good quality. . . . He must enjoin them, when they weave a new piece of stuff, not to dye the thread until it has been bleached, but no black thread should be bleached for it turns yellow and does not hold any (color), to the loss of the purchaser. There are some who weave the surface of the cloth of good and uniform thread, and the rest of a different kind. . . . When a weaver receives thread from a man for weaving him a garment he must take it by weight. When he has woven it he must return it to its owner by weight so as to ward off suspicion. If the owner of the thread claims that the weaver has changed the thread, and if he has a sample of the thread but the weaver declares it is the same, the muḥtasib must take them before persons of experience. If he has no sample or proof, the weaver shall swear that he has not changed it.[42]

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[37] Ibn al-Uk̲h̲uwwa, *op. cit.,* No. 283.

[38] D̲j̲a'far ibn Ali al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *op. cit.,* p. 27.

[39] D̲j̲āḥiẓ, *op. cit.,* p. 338. Cf. the quotation in Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), I, 366.

[40] D̲j̲a'far ibn Ali al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *op. cit.,* p. 27.

[41] Ibn al-Uk̲h̲uwwa, *op. cit.,* No. 175.

[42] *Ibid.,* No. 171 a ff.

CHAPTER XXIII

DYERS

THROUGHOUT THE PREVIOUS CHAPTERS incidental notes on dyeing have appeared scattered here and there, but the strange and prominent fact is that in all Muslim countries, the Jews seem to have been the principal workers in this craft though it was not confined to them alone. Djāḥiẓ tells us that "the ḳirmiz is a grass in the root of which there is a red worm, which grows in three places in the world—in the Maghreb quarter, in the land of Andalus, and in a district called Tārum (part of Shiraz), and in the province of Fars. Nobody can recognize this grass and where it is likely to be found except a sect of the Jews who have charge of plucking it each year in Māh-Isfandārmudh."[1] Thus the Jews possessed trade secrets unknown to other peoples, and obtained a certain monopoly in the art. The best of this ḳirmiz, according to Ibn al-Baiṭār comes from Asia, Cilicia, but more especially from Spain.[2] Bar Hebraeus[3] tells us that: "the behavior of the Arabs hath long been manifest in the world, and up to the present day no Jew hath ever been raised to a position of exalted honor amongst them; and except as a tanner or dyer, or tailor (the Arab[4]) doth not appear among the Jews."

Benjamin of Tudela gives us the exact number of (families of) Jews in the various places he visited.[5] They were to be found in Brindisi, Bethlehem, Beit Nuba (near Ramle where there was the Umayyad Dār al-Ṣabbāghīn, the Dye-house), Jaffa, Zerin (or Jezreel), and Ḳaryatain (a village on the Palmyra-Damascus route). There were no Jewish residents among the Druses, "but a certain number of Jewish handicraftsmen and dyers come among them for the sake of trade." Of Jerusalem, he even says: "It contains a dyeing-house for which the Jews pay a small rent annually to the king (Baldwin II, died 1162, succeeded by his brother Almaric) on condition that besides the Jews no others be allowed in Jerusalem."[6] Maḳdisī informs us that most of the dyers, bankers, and tanners of Palestine were Jews.[7] Leo Africanus frequently talks of Jewish dyers in North Africa at a later date.

It seems that some kinds of dyes were taxed in the early period, for Balādhurī discusses the question of a tax on wars (a yellow-brown dye), wasma (a blue dye), katam (a variety of henna), and henna.[8] Dyeing was subject to certain social regulations in the cities, probably owing to the dirt and disturbance which it caused. The Spanish author al-Saḳaṭī of Malaga says: "The muḥtasib must prevent the dyers from dyeing red with brazil-wood (baḳḳam) for it does not last, and from dyeing with every color but saḥābī (cloud-blue) in cotton and linen, for the dye in those two does not remain permanent, and that which is exposed for sale in the market is fraudulent and deceptive. Colors only shine when they are dyed taking into consideration the technical necessities of the material."[9] In another work of a similar kind by Ibn 'Abdūn (of the eleventh to twelfth centuries), also a Spaniard, we find a like instruction: "The muḥtasib must order the tanners (k͟hullāṣ) and those who dye silk (ḥarīr) that they dye only outside the town."[10]

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[1] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Ḥasan H. ʿAbd al-Wahhāb, *Rev. de l'Acad. Arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 339.

[2] Ibn al-Baiṭār, "Traité des simples par Ibn el-Beithar," trans. N. L. Leclerc, *Notes et Extr. de la Bibl. Nat.,* XXIII, XXV, XXVI (Paris, 1877–83), XXVI, 74 f.

[3] E. Wallis Budge, *The Chronography of Bar Hebraeus* (Oxford, 1932), I, 490.

[4] The translation (which in general is admittedly unreliable) is probably incorrect here and the word "Arab" suggested by the translator should be deleted. The sense of the passage is thus altered to convey that the Jews exercise only the three above-named professions. In Southern Arabia to the present day these three professions are exercised by the Jews.

[5] *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela,* ed. and trans. by M. N. Adler (London, 1907), trans., pp. 25, 27, 28, 31, 18, 9.

[6] *Ibid.,* p. 22. He mentions 200 Jews living under the tower of David, but a variant reading gives four only, and this agrees with the account of Rabbi Petachia.

[7] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Ahsanu-t-taqāsīm fī maʿrifat-l-aqālīm known as al-Muqaddasī,* trans. by G. S. A. Ranking and R. F. Azoo, *Bibl. Ind.* (Calcutta, 1897–1910, incomplete), p. 301.

[8] Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-Buldān,* trans. by P. Hitti (New York, 1916), I, 112.

This regulation also applied to potters; but it does not always seem to have been strictly followed, for, during the reign of the Almohad Manṣūr and his son al-Nāṣir, the dyehouses, 116 of them, were inside the walls of Fez.[11]

Again Ibn 'Abdūn[12] adds: "The dyers must be forbidden to dye the color green with mit͟hnān (according to Dozy "thymélée, garou, trentonel, etc."), nor yet with brazil-wood (baḳḳam) for azure (lawn samāwī, isatis tinctoria)[13] and the color disappears quickly." Of this mit͟hnān Ibn al-Baiṭār adds: "It is called mit͟hnān in Egypt and on the Syrian coasts. Its husk is used to make halters for riding-animals especially at Gaza and Dāran where it grows abundantly in the sand."[14] The Egyptian *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba* enlarges on this subject:

> Most dyers of red silk and other thread and materials dye with henna in their workshops instead of madder (al-fuwwa) and the dye appears bright; but when the sun strikes on it, its color deteriorates and its brightness disappears. Some take money from a customer to dye kuḥlī (bluish black). They dip the stuff into a substance called D͟jarrāda (locust), remove and treat it with froth from the vat and return it to its owner. It is not long before it reverts to its original color.[15]

The Thousand and One Nights has embodied an anecdote on dyers in a story that is probably of the late Egyptian period.[16] Apparently cloth was not dyed wholesale but the customer brought it to the dyer who colored it according to his specification. One of the dyers says: "I dye red of various hues, as rose-color, and jujube-color; and green of various hues, as plant-green, and pistachio-green and oil-green, and parrot's wing; and black of various hues, as coal-black and kuḥli, and yellow of various hues, as orange-color and lemon-color;—and he proceeded to mention to him all the colors." This is obviously a list of trade-names of these dyes. The Sultan later in the story opens a shop under the control of this dyer called "The Sultan's Dyeing Shop."[17]

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[9] Al-Saḳaṭī, *Un Manuel hispanique de hisba,* ed. by G. S. Colin and E. Lévi-Provençal (Paris, 1931), *Publ. de l'Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines,* XXI, 63.

[10] Ibn 'Abdūn, "Un Document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers à Seville au début du xii-ième siècle: le traité d'Ibn 'Abdūn," ed. by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Journ. Asiatique* (Paris, 1934), CCXXIV, 240.

[11] See Chapter XVIII.

[12] Ibn 'Abdūn, *op. cit.,* p. 240.

[13] Cf. Maḳḳarī, *Analectes sur l'histoire et la littérature des arabes en Espagne,* ed. R. Dozy and others (Leyden, 1855–61), I, 91 and 92, and I. Epstein, *The Responsa of Rabbi Simon ben Ẓemaḥ Duran* (London, 1930), p. 47, where it is a dye used by the Jews.

[14] Ibn al-Baiṭār, *op. cit.,* XXVI, 291.

[15] Ibn al-Uk͟huwwa, *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba,* ed. R. Levy, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1938), n.s., XII, No. 176.

[16] *The Arabian Nights,* trans. by E. W. Lane (New York, 1927), pp. 878, 882.

[17] For further study on this subject, the following references may prove of interest.
Ibn al-Baiṭār, *op. cit.,* I, 245, etc.
Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 154.
Ibn 'Abdūn, *op. cit.,* p. 250.
Arabian Nights, op. cit., p. 934.
Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 74.

Yāḳūt, *Mu'd̲j̲am al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), III, 101–2.

Al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen âge,* trans. M. A. F. Mehren (Copenhagen, 1874), p. 96.

Al-Hamdānī, *Geographie der arabischen Halbinsel,* ed. D. H. Müller (Leyden, 1884–91), I, 53.

Abu 'l-Fidā', *Taḳwīm al-Buldān,* trans. T. Reinaud (Paris, 1847–83), II, 131.

'Abd al-Laṭīf, *Relation de l'Égypte par Abd-Allatif, médecin arabe de Bagdad,* by S. de Sacy (Paris, 1810), p. 19.

D̲j̲a'far ibn Ali al-Dimas̲h̲ḳī, *al-Is̲h̲āra ilā Maḥāsin al-Tid̲j̲āra* (Cairo, 1318 H. [1900 A.D.]), p. 21 (for baḳḳam).

CHAPTER XXIV

FURS

FURS WERE WIDELY USED IN THE COSTUME OF Abbasid times, and the survey hardly shows how generally they were employed by the wealthy and men of fashion. Even the manuals of ḥisba give regulations for their preparation. Ibn 'Abdūn says: "The furriers must be prevented from using the dung of birds in the preparation of worn-out furs."[1] The *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba* informs us that "a trustworthy person of their craft must be placed in charge of them. They must not sell sheep-skin furs (al-firā' al-kibāshīya), etc., unless they are properly tanned and sewn, closely stitched. No old material may be mixed with new, nor any patched article. They must not be taken round houses so that some people get a preference over others. Nay, it must be taken to the market and sold there by roup so that both strong and weak may obtain it."[2]

One of the most precious furs was the sable (sammūr), and the *Aghānī* mentions a mantle (duwādj) of khazz-silk lined (mubaṭṭan) with sable,[3] while Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī informs us that "the sable is the most expensive of furs."[4] Marco Polo adds that "a robe of sable, large enough to line a mantle is worth 2,000 bezants of gold, or a 1,000 at least, and this kind of skin is called by the Tartars 'The King of Furs.' The beast itself is about the size of a marten. The two furs of which I speak are applied and inlaid so exquisitely that it is something worth seeing."[5] The Mongol emperor used them for lining his tents.

Damīrī in the *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān,* tells us that: "This (the sable, sammūr) species of animal is specially selected in making furred garments out of its skins on account of its softness, lightness, warmth and beauty. Kings and Grandees wear them."[6]

Various authors give lists of the precious furs used in Baghdad by the wealthy, and Djāḥiẓ says:

> The best kind of squirrel fur (sindjāb) is the ḳāḳum (ermine), then the backs of it, then the Khazar kind, then that of Khoresm, then the fur of hares which has no defect. The best kind of fox-fur (tha'lab) is the black Khazar type with coarse fur which has not been counterfeited with dye. Then comes the white kind, then the red kind which is colored red with clay, then the red Khazar variety, then the poplar-colored kind. The best kind of ermine (ḳāḳum) is that which has the longest tail. The best kind of sable is the Chinese (Ṣīnī) variety, followed by the Khazar kind of a bright white and deep black color with long hair.[7]

The list given in the *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* in the reign of the Buwaihid 'Aḍud al-Dawla consists of "the squirrel of Khirkhīz, the sable (sammūr) of Bulghār, the foxes (tha'lab) of the Khazars, the marten (fanak) of Kashgar, the ermine (ḳāḳum) of Tughuzghuz, and the soft skins (ḥawāṣil) of Herat."[8] Nuwairī copies this list.[9] G͟harnāṭī[10] says: "We shall mention the special products of various countries in regard to furs, as one says—the squirrel (sind͟jāb) of K͟hirk͟hīz, the sable of Bulg͟hār, the fox-skins of the Khazars, the soft skins (ḥawāṣil) of Herat, and the ḳ māḳ m[11] of Tug͟huzg͟huz." Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī gives little notes on the squirrel, marten, ermine, hyrax (wabar), the foxlike animal called was͟hḳ, and the yāmūr.[12]

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[1] Ibn 'Abdūn, "Un Document sur la vie urbaine et les corps de métiers à Seville au début du xii-ième siècle: le traité d'Ibn 'Abdūn," ed. and trans. by E. Lévi-Provençal, *Journ. Asiatique* (Paris, 1934), CCXXIV, 240.

[2] Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-Ḳurba,* ed. R. Levy, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1938), n.s., XII, No. 284.

[3] The 21st volume of the *Kitâb al-Aghânî . . .* ed. R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1888), p. 156.

[4] J. Stephenson, *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaufī al-Qazwīnī* (London, 1928), *Or. Trans. Fund,* trans., p. 18.

[5] H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian* (London, 1871), I, 391, II, 479, 480, 484.

[6] Damīrī, *Ḥayat al-Ḥayawān,* trans. by A. S. G. Jayakar (London-Bombay, 1906–08), II, 81.

[7] Djāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tidjāra," ed. Ḥasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Rev. de l'Acad. Arabe de Damas,* XII (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 335 f. Compare the passages from Ḳalḳashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-A'shā,* cited by the editor here.

[8] Tha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1876), p. 132.

The post-Mongol author Ibn Baṭūṭa describes the ḳāḳum in these terms:

> The ermine is the finest kind of fur. A fur of this kind is worth a thousand dinars in India, which sum (in the Maghreb) is worth 250 dinars. It is extremely white, and comes from the skin of a small animal a span (s͟hibr) long. Its tail is long and they leave it in the fur as it is. The sable (sammūr) is inferior in value to the ḳāḳum. A fur of this kind is worth four hundred dinars or less. One of the qualities of these skins is that lice do not enter them, so the kings and nobles of China place one attached to their furs at the neck. The merchants of Persia and Iraq do the same.[13]

These furs were derived from several sources, though most of them came from the northeastern areas of the Muslim world, the district of Transoxiania, Central Asia, and from Russia. It was probably through this trade that the Muslim coins found as far as the Baltic reached there, for the geographers say that the Russians had very little else to offer in the way of merchandise.

Ibn Rusta says of the Rūsīya: "Their sole craft is the trade in sable (sammūr), squirrel, and other kinds of fur (wabar)."[14] Iṣṭak͟hrī adds: "From Art͟hā (the Volga) the black sable is brought. . . . These Russians trade with the Khazars, who in turn, trade with Rūm and Greater Bulg͟hār."[15] Ibn Ḥawḳal is rather better informed:

> Fur is only brought to them (the Khazars) from the land of the Rūs and Bulg͟hār, as also the beaver-skins (d͟julūd al-k͟hazz) which are exported to all regions. They are to be found only in these northern rivers in the country of Bulg͟hār, the Rūs and Kūbāya. Those beaver-skins found in Andalus come from the rivers in the Slav country, and go to the river which is in the Slav territory. . . . Most of those skins, in fact, the greater part of them are found in the country of the Rūs.[16]

Again he tells us that "from Art͟hā (the Volga) the black sable, black foxfurs and tin are brought."[17] Quoting Ibn Faḍlān, Yāḳūt informs us that: "Merchants travel on the Volga (Itil) to Wīsū (the Finns ?) and import a great deal of fur (wabar) such as beaver (ḳundur), sable (sammūr), and squirrel, (sind͟jāb)."[18]

Ibn al-Faḳīh knew that the Turks were famous for their sable and marten and that the Bulkārs have sable, ermine, and squirrel furs. When the ships of the Muslims came to trade with them they imposed a duty of ten percent.[19]

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[9] Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), I, 369.

[10] "Tuḥfat al-Albāb de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-G͟harnāṭī," ed. and (partially) trans. by G. Ferrand, *Journ. Asiatique*, CCVII (1925), 212.

[11] It would seem that the word ḳ māḳ m is merely another variant of ḳāḳum, and that the translation "camel-hair-fur" given by H. F. Amedroz and D. S. Margoliouth in *The Eclipse of the ʿAbbasid Caliphate* (Oxford, 1920–21), has no foundation.

[12] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī, *op. cit.*, trans., pp. 23–26.

[13] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), II, 401.

[14] Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-Aʿlāḳ al-Nafīsa*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1892), III, 145.

[15] Iṣṭak͟hrī, *Viae regnorum* . . ., ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 226.

[16] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna* . . ., *Descriptio ditionis moslemicae*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1873), II, 281.

[17] *Ibid.*, p. 286.

[18] Yāḳūt, *Muʿd͟jam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), I, 113. See the notes and index in V. Minorsky's translation of the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, for Wīsū and Burṭās. Cf. Nars͟hak͟hī, *Tārīk͟h-i-Buk͟hārā*, ed. C. Schefer, *Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (=*P.E.L.O.V.*) (Paris, 1892), III, XIII, 287.

[19] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Bol-*

Masʿūdī mentions in particular the Khazar tribe of Burṭās whence—

> the furs of foxes (thaʿlab) both red and black are exported, called Burṭāsīya. There are some of these skins, especially the black ones which are worth a hundred dinars and more. The red ones sell at a lower price. The former are worn by Arab kings and Persian ones who are proud to wear them, and value them more highly than the sable (sammūr), the marten (fanak) and so on. They make ḳalansuwa-caps, caftans, and cloaks (dawāwīdj) of them. There is hardly a king but possesses a caftan or cloak (duwwādj) lined (mubaṭṭan) with these Burṭāsī furs.[20]

Ibn Ḥawḳal states that the Khazars imported honey, khazz-silk (or beaver skins), wax, and furs (wabar),[21] while the *Ḥudūd* mentions that near Issi-kül, in the mountain of Tūlas, many sable-martens, gray squirrels, and musk-deer are found, as well as in the Khirkhīz country.[22] From the Turk country, Thaʿālibī enumerates sable, squirrel, ermine (ḳāḳum), marten (fanak), black fox furs (thaʿlab), and white hares.[23] Yāḳūt notes a place, Sarsan in Farthest Turkestan, where, he says, "There is a market in which the beaver (ḳundus), Burṭāsī furs, sables, etc., are sold." [24]

Khoresm and Transoxiana seem to have been the centers of the fur trade, which incidentally was largely in the hands of Jews, known as the Rahdānīya.[25] Discussing the town of Khwārizm, probably Kāth, Iṣṭakhrī tells us that "marten, sable, foxfurs and beaver (al-khazz=djulūd al-khazz) and other kinds of furs come there." [26] The long account of Maḳdisī has already been quoted under Khoresm.[27] Thaʿālibī notes particularly the red and black foxes of Transoxiana.[28] Iṣṭakhrī says: "From Ṣaghāniyān and Wāshdjird come saffron exported to other lands, and furs of the sable, squirrel, foxes, etc. which are taken to the furthest west." [29]

Some furs apparently came from Spain and the Maghreb (North Africa). Ibn Khurdādbih says: "From the Maghreb Sea come beaver skins (djulūd al-khazz) and furs." [30] Both Iṣṭakhrī and Maḳdisī found many sables (sammūr) near Toledo.[31] Mustawfī adds that "in the *Ṣuwar al-Aḳālīm* (a work now lost) it is stated that in this country there are many sable-martens (sammūr)." [32] Bakrī informs us that in the deserts about Awdāghast and Sidjilmāsa there are martens (fanak) whose fur is exported to every land.[33]

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dān, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1885), V, 255, 141.

[20] Masʿūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or,* ed. and trans. by C. A. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. J. B. Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1861–77), II, 14. Cf. the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* p. 464.

[21] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *op. cit.,* p. 283.

[22] *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* pp. 62, 96.

[23] Thaʿālibī, *op. cit.,* p. 128.

[24] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* III, 76.

[25] See Appendix IV.

[26] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 305.

[27] Maḳdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici, B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876; 2d ed. 1906), III, 325.

[28] Thaʿālibī, *op. cit.,* p. 129.

[29] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 288. Cf. Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* IV, 399.

[30] Ibn Khurdādbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1889), VI, 92.

[31] Iṣṭakhrī, *op. cit.,* p. 44. Maḳdisī, *op. cit.,* p. 239.

[32] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 263. Cf. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* p. 155, where Tudela is written instead of Toledo.

[33] Al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale,* trans. by M. de Slane (Alger, 1913), p. 322. Cf. Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), II, 340, 407. Al-Dimashḳī, *Manuel de la cosmographie du moyen âge,* trans. M. A. F. Mehren (Copenhagen, 1874), p. 194. Ibn Djubair, *The Travels of Ibn Djubair,* ed. W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1907), V, 228. M. Minovi has supplied me with a reference to Abu 'l-Faḍl Baihaḳī, *Tārīkh-i-Baihaḳī* (Teheran, 1307 H. [1889–90 A.D.]), pp. 456–57.

APPENDIX I: COSTUME

In this survey more attention has been paid to the geographical distribution of manufactures than to costume, and several passages of great interest and importance have only been cited in occasional references. These passages give long lists of the famous manufactures of the day and those selected here are all taken from authors who lived at Baghdad, thus implying that such stuffs were known there. The most interesting of these are to be found in Abu 'l-Ḳāsim of Baghdad, an author of uncertain date but who probably lived there about the second or third century. Satirizing the Iṣfahānīs, he says to them:[1]

> By Allāh, I do not see a single one of you wearing a garment of reddish Dabīḳī (s̲h̲uḳairī), nor Dabḳāwī (from Dabḳā in the Delta), nor of Ḳīrāṭī Zuhairī (perhaps he means a stuff with embroidered all-over patterns in the shape of the coins called ḳīrāṭ, a fraction of a dinar, and manufactured in the Zuhairīya Quarter of Baghdad), nor reddish woven stuff (baft ḳus̲h̲airī), nor Aden cloaks (ridā'), nor tāk̲h̲tand̲j̲, nor rāk̲h̲tandj, nor garments of ḳaṣab-linen of Samannūd[2] and Damsīsī (from Damsīs in Egypt[3]), and Tinnīsī, and Dimyāṭī, nor yet Mud̲j̲allalī (?) stuff, nor figured (was̲h̲ī) material of brocade(dībād̲j̲) with the woven gold (al-d̲h̲ahab al-mansūd̲j̲) and the intermingled ambergris, with beautiful markings (ḥasan al-taws̲h̲ī') as if it were woven of the blossoms of Spring (Rabī'), nor yet transparent S̲h̲īnīzī stuffs like thin air or the mirage, nor napkins (s̲h̲ustaḳāt[4]) which are used for wiping the mouth in polite assemblies, of ḳaṣab-linen of unbleached material with a border (mu'lam muk̲h̲awwam), nor striped material (muraiyas̲h̲), nor material ornamented (muwas̲h̲s̲h̲ā) with Mag̲h̲ribī (North African) gold, nor 'attābī Dabīḳī with a border, and embroidered with gold (mu'lam mut̲h̲aḳḳal).
>
> Nor do I see in your houses and dwellings, places, the roofs of which have been covered with ebony (sād̲j̲) and the stairs of which have been adorned with ebony and ivory. . . . Nor do I see your houses with their public rooms furnished with carpets (zullīya) of the Maghreb, nor with K̲h̲ars̲h̲ānī carpets (ṭinfisa), nor carpet-strips of Andalus (nak̲h̲āk̲h̲) and Cordova, and Armenian carpets (miṭraḥ), and Rūmī (Byzantine) velvets (ḳaṭīfa), and Tustarī cushion (miḳ'ad), nor Mag̲h̲ribī carpets (anṭā'), nor gold-embroidered pillows (mak̲h̲ādd mud̲h̲ahhaba) of Dabīḳ, nor square carpets (ṭarrāḥāt) of Cyprus, nor sūsand̲j̲ird, nor Abūḳalamūn, and cushions (numruḳ) a house full of which looks like ground covered with flowers.
>
> Nor have you Sāmān or 'Abbadānī mats (ḥuṣr) which fold in two as cloth does, lovelier than carpets (zurbīya), and softer than Sūs k̲h̲azz-silk, of fine workmanship, perfect craftsmanship and fine weave, and cushions (dusūt) of a reddish color (ḳus̲h̲airī) picked out (mufaṣṣal) with gold, and cushions (dusūt) of mamzūd̲j̲ (mixed) with Iraqi gold, and gold-embroidered brocade (dībād̲j̲ mut̲h̲aḳḳal), embroidered with pictures of elephant (mufaiyal) and horses (muk̲h̲aiyal[5]), and carpets (miṭraḥ) stuffed with feathers of the Indian bullfinch and Tustar brocade embroidered (muḳaṣṣab) with gold.

He again mentions a pillow (mik̲h̲adda) of Ḳubāṭī stuffed with the feathers of the bullfinch.[6] Buk̲h̲ārī talks of leather cushions stuffed with palm-fiber.[7]

The *Nuzhat al-Ḳulūb* mentions several birds whose feathers are used for stuffing and other purposes:

> Abū Faras̲h̲ is a fowl of beautiful form with long neck and legs, and red beak like a stork. It is colored red and yellow and green and blue, appearing a dif-

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[1] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *Ḥikāyat Abi 'l-Ḳāsim,* ed. A. Mez (Heidelberg, 1902), p. 35 ff.

[2] A conjectural emendation for سموت. Mez considers it to be the same as the French samêt, the German samât.

[3] A conjectural emendation for Dasīsī.

[4] A word originally meaning an asbestos napkin, but later applied to any kind of napkin. Cf. Ibn K̲h̲allikān's *Biographical Dictionary,* trans. by M. de Slane (Paris-London, 1843–71), IV, 375.

[5] Reading mufaiyal for mufattal, and muk̲h̲aiyal for muḥaiyil. Cf. the passages from Maḳrīzī, *K̲h̲iṭaṭ,* quoted in Chapter XVI (pt. IV), and note 13.

[6] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *op. cit.,* p. 52.

[7] El-Bokhari, *Les Traditions islamiques,* trans. O. Houdas and W. Marçais (Paris, MDCCCCIII–XIV), *Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (=*P.E.L.O.V.*), IV, 231.

> ferent color every season. Abūḳalamūn garments are prepared from its colors. . . . Ḥawāṣil, Pelican. On its breast is a skin covered with soft down of which they make articles of apparel and its feathers are used for arrows. . . . Farīsa (?). On its body are blue feathers which they use for introducing into embroidery (zardūz).[8]

The geographer Ibn al-Faḳīh gives us a list of articles which are only to be obtained by travel in many lands. The following are the textiles which he classes under this category:

> Chinese saddles (surūd͟j), Sābirī shirts (or breastplates dir'), Chinese curtains (sutūr), the munaiyar garments of Rayy, Kazvin robes, Sa'īdī cloth, Yemen cloaks (ḥulla), Egyptian mantles (ridā'), the mulḥam-stuff of Khurasan, Ṭāhirid garments, Andalusian cloaks (ḥulla), Chinese silk (ḥarīr), k͟hazz-silk of Sūs, Tustar brocade, Rūmī buzyūn-brocade, Egyptian linen, figured Kufan was͟hī-stuffs, and the 'attābī of Isfahan.[9]

A very similar list is to be found in T͟ha'ālibī's *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* where a certain wit at the court of the Buwaihid 'Aḍud al-Dawla, called Abū Dulaf, replies to the satire of an opponent:

> May God shower upon me the striped cloaks (burūd) of Yemen, the ḳaṣab-linen of Egypt (Miṣr), the brocades of Rūm, the k͟hazz-silks of Sūs, the silk (ḥarīr) of China, the robes (aksiya) of Fars, the cloaks (ḥulla) of Isfahan, the siḳlāṭūn of Baghdad, the turbans ('imāma) of Ubulla, the Tawwazī-cloth of Tawwad͟j, the munaiyar stuff of Rayy, the ḥaffī of Nishapur, the mulḥam of Merv, the squirrel-fur of K͟hirk͟hīz, the sable of Bulg͟hār, the foxskins of the Khazars, the marten of Kashgar, the ermine of Tug͟huzg͟huz, the fine skins of Herat, the trouser-cords of Armenia, the stockings (d͟jawrab) of Kazvin. May God give me the furnishings of Armenian carpets (busuṭ), large carpets (zullīya) of Ḳālīḳalā, carpets (miṭraḥ) of Maisān, reedmats (ḥuṣur) of Baghdad.[10]

Nuwairī seems to derive largely from T͟ha'ālibī in a chapter entitled "An Account of the Different Articles for Which Certain Countries are Noted." [11]

> With regard to the special products in the way of jewels, one says: 'The turquoises (fairuzad͟j) of Nishapur, the jacinth (yāḳūt) of Ceylon, the pearls of Oman, the topaz (zabard͟jad) of Miṣr (Egypt), the chalcedony ('aḳīḳ) of Yemen, the onyx (d͟jaz') of Ẓafār, and the garnet of Balk͟h (bīd͟jādī), and the coral (mard͟jān) of Ifrīḳīya'.
>
> With regard to the special products in the way of clothing (malbūs), one says: The striped cloaks (burūd) of Yemen, the figured stuffs of San'a (was͟hī), the Raiṭ[12] of Syria (S͟ha'm), the ḳaṣab-linen of Egypt (Miṣr), the brocade of Rūm, the ḳazz-silk of Sūs, the silk of China, the robes of Fars, the cloaks (ḥulla) of Isfahan, the siḳlāṭūn of Baghdad, the turbans ('imāma) of Ubulla, the munaiyar of Rayy, the mulḥam of Merv, the trouser-bands (tikka) of Armenia, the kerchiefs (mandīl) of Damghan, and the stockings of Kazvin.
>
> With regard to the special products in the way of furs, one says: The squirrel of K͟hirk͟hīz, the sable of Bulg͟hār, the foxfur of the Khazars, the marten of Kashghar, the fine skins of Herat, and the ermine of Tug͟huzg͟huz.
>
> With regard to the special products in the way of furnishing (furs͟h) one says: The carpets (busuṭ) of Armenia, the large carpets (zullīya) of Ḳālīḳalā, the carpets (miṭraḥ) of Maisān, and the reedmats (ḥuṣr) of Baghdad.

An earlier author than some of the preceding writers was the writer of belles-lettres known as al-Was͟hs͟hā' (circa 246–325 H. [860–936 A.D.]) who devotes several chapters to describing the types of clothing worn by his contemporaries. The following extracts have seemed worthy of presentation as a whole:[13]

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[8] J. Stephenson, *The Zoological Section of the Nuzhat-al-Qulūb of Ḥamdullāh al-Mustaufī al-Qazwīnī, Or. Trans. Fund* (London, 1928), trans., pp. 62, 69, 83.

[9] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1885), V, 50.

[10] T͟ha'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif*, ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1867), p. 132.

[11] Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), I, 369. (Nuwairī died in 734 H. (1333 A.D.).)

[12] See this word in the glossary to Ṭabarī, *Annales*, ed. M. J. de Goeje (Leyden, 1879–1901).

Section on the Dress of the Elegant

THE COSTUME AFFECTED BY MEN OF POSITION

You must know that the costume of the elegant, gallant, and cultured man consists of fine shirts (ghilāla), and thick shirts (ḳamīṣ) of excellent kinds of linen, soft and pure of colors, such as Dabīḳī and Djannābī, and the linings (mubaṭṭanāt) of tākhtandj and raw stuffs (khāmāt), shirts (durrāʿa) of Dārābdjird and Iskandarī (Alexandrine stuff), and mulḥam (a stuff with a warp of silk and a woof of some other material), and khazz-silk, and Khurasan material, linings (mubaṭṭanāt) of soft Ḳūhī stuff, and izārs of al-ḳaṣab al-sharb (some kind of linen stuff,[14]), Aden cloaks (ridā') with borders (muḥashshāt), ṭailasān-hoods (or cloaks) of Nishapur mulḥam, and Dabīḳī of one color (muṣmata Dabīḳīya), Nishapur gowns (djubba), and ṭirāzī stuff of one color (muṣmata ṭirāzī), Saʿdī figured washī-stuffs, Kufan khazz-silk, miṭraf-cloaks of Sūs, robes of Fars, blue Ṣulūlī Ḳūmis[15] ṭailasāns, and all things after this sort. . . .

However it is not considered correct to wear clothes of ugly colors dyed with scent (ṭīb, or some kind of dye?) and saffron, such as yellow mulḥam, and Dabīḳī impregnated with ambergris, because that is women's apparel, and the dress of dancing-girls and serving-girls . . . that is shirts (ghilāla) perfumed with musk and shirts (ḳamīṣ) perfumed with ambergris, cloaks of various colors (ridā'), and yellow izārs. But, in certain cases, they may use them as coverings (fursh), and may even don them at an occasion of revelry and still be considered elegant in them in the salons; they can also wear shoes of them in their houses, though appearance in public in this style is bad form.

The elegant find favor with the affluent and relatives of the caliph. No elegant person or man of taste will permit himself to wear soiled clothing with that which has been washed, nor clothing which has been washed with new garments, nor linen with Mervian (cotton) stuff, nor bābiyāf (cotton) with Ḳūhī stuff either. The best taste in dress is to wear clothes which suit one another, with a graduated range of color, and materials which have something in common and do not clash.

Section on the Trousercords, Shoes, and Boots worn by the Elegant

They wear Zandjī (Negro)[16] shoes (niʿāl) and thick Kanbātī shoes (from Cambay), Yemen furred (mushaʿʿara) shoes (suède ?), fine shoes (ḥadw), and the light checked (mukhattam) type. The black colored kind can be worn with the red, and the yellow with the black. They wear Hāshimī boots and the split shoes of officials (? al-maksūra al-kuttābīya), firm leather, and heavy black leather with stockings (djawrab) of khazz-silk, goathair (mirʿizzī), and ḳazz-silk. They buy a red style of boot and a black leather kind (dārish).[17] They use trouser-bands (tikka) of ibrīsm-silk, and khazz-silk, and cotton miṭraf-cloaks and figured Armenian stuffs (al-manḳūsha al-Armanīya).[18]

Section on Fashionable Ladies, concerning those Clothes which differ from those of Fashionable Men

They wear smoke-colored shirts (ghilāla dukhkhānīya), and Rashīdī cloaks (ridā'), and linen with decorated bands on it (shurūb muzannara[19]), Ṭabarī cloaks (ardīya Ṭabarīya), colored ḳaṣab-linen, silk embroidered with round circles (ḥarīr muʿaiyan), Nishapur veils (miḳnaʿ), izārs of Khurasan mulḥam-stuff, cords for tying the necks of dresses, open sleeves, white trousers with tails, black veils (miʿdjar) perfumed with hyacinth. They must not wear any trousercords (tikka) nor any garment sprinkled (marshūsh) (with perfume ?), nor perfumed, nor of simple colors, nor any garments of white linen except that which is colored by nature, or dyed according to its kind, or altered from being exclusively the garb of men with some kind of musk or sandal species (of perfume), or the hyacinth and ambergris species so that the perfume makes them a different kind of garb, seeing that the wearing of white is part of a man's dress. Nor can they wear yellow, black, green, rose-color (muwarrad) or red except that which is by nature yellow, green, blue, rose--colored and red, such as the red silk stuff called lād̲h̲, silk (ḥarīr), ḳazz-silk, brocade, figured stuff (was̲h̲ī), and k̲h̲azz-silk, because the rose-color, red, and green Sīnīzī [20] are only worn by Nabatean women,[21] and singing-girls of the slave class. White is considered as the dress of abandoned women. Blue and mourning garments are the colors worn by the bereaved and those in trouble. We have described the best fashions, and they do not pass beyond the limits which we have demarcated.

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[13] Al-Washshā', *Kitāb al-Muwashshā*, ed R. E. Brünnow (Leyden, 1886), p. 124 f.

[14] The insertion of the particle "and" would probably give a better sense, i.e., sharb-linen, and ḳaṣab-linen.

[15] Reading Ḳūmisī for Tūmisī.

[16] Al-Washshā', *op. cit.*, p. 125. I read Zandjīya for Zīdjīya. The text here is dubious being based on a single MS. only. Perhaps the sandals of Git in Tanūkhī, *Nishwār al-Muḥādara, Table Talk of a Mesopotamian Judge*, ed. and trans. by D. S. Margoliouth, *Or. Trans. Fund* (London, 1921), trans., p. 125, should be Zandjī sandals. The Abyssinians were famous for their leather.

[17] Inserting "min."

[18] With the emendation to the text noted in Chapter VI, note 9.

[19] Abu 'l-Muṭahhar al-Azdī, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

Our author goes on to describe those points of women's dress which differ from men's in the way of trouserbands, boots and shoes, scents, etc.[22]

They wear Kanbātī furred (mus̲h̲a"ara) painted green-colored shoes, women's shoes (k̲h̲ifāf zanānīya [23]), and the split (maksūr) type, and the Edessa (Rahāwī) kind. They wear trousercords of ibrīsm-silk as do men, but they do not also wear, as men do, woven trousercords of brocade, and twisted s̲h̲arrāb-cloths of ibrīsm-silk (s̲h̲arrābāt al-ibrīsm al-maftūla), and broad belts (zunnār). They never wear white nor stuffs with many colors or with stripes for they consider them colors of bad omen. They sometimes also wear silken trouserbands, and cotton miṭraf-cloaks.[24]

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[20] Reading سینیزی for سینیری.

[21] "Nabatean," according to F. Krenkow, "The Oldest Western Accounts of Chinese Porcelain," *Islamic Culture* (Hyderabad, 1933), VII, 226–27, when applied to anything means something that is not good, or of an inferior quality. Perhaps the reference is to the Aramean Christian women.

[22] Al-Was̲h̲s̲h̲ā', *op. cit.*, p. 127. The text seems corrupt here.

[23] Perhaps Zand̲j̲īya should be read here as supra.

[24] Reading والمطارف القطنية.

APPENDIX II: KAABA COVERINGS

WÜSTENFELD HAS PUBLISHED AN EXTRACT from an Arab author on the different monarchs and dynasties that gave the Kaaba its annual covering. The importance of this function, implying the sovereignty of the Muslim world, was very great. The manufacture was made in different royal factories at different periods:

"The Kaaba was covered, according to al-Azraḳī with various types of coverings, including white Khurasan brocade, and red Khurasan brocade as the author of the *'Iḳd* (Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi) has recounted. Another kind was the white brocade in the time of al-Ḥākim the Fatimid (al'Ubaidī), and his grandson al-Mustanṣir, al-Ṣulaiḥī the ruler of Yemen and Mecca covering it with that material. In the year 466 H. (1073–74 A.D.) it was covered with yellow brocade—this was the covering which the Sultan Maḥmūd ibn Sabuktagīn, the ruler of India made. Then Niẓām al-Mulk, the vizier of Maliks̲h̲āh the Seljuk took over this right and despatched the covering to Mecca, and it was placed over the covering with which Abu 'l-Naṣr al-Astarabādī covered it in the same year. It was covered with a green and black covering. It has continued to be covered with black until the present day, with a yellow ṭirāz in it, previously having been white. On the east side, in the year 310 H. (922–23 A.D.) cups (d̲j̲āmāt [1]) embroidered in white silk (ḥarīr) were introduced into the covering of the Kaaba, but then this was abandoned in the year 815 H. (1412–13 A.D.) and the three following years. Then the white cups were reintroduced in the year 819 H. (1416–17 A.D.) and the five consecutive years. Then that was stopped in the year 865 H. (1460–61 A.D.).

It was covered with cloth of cotton dyed black because it was laid bare by a tempestuous wind which arose in Mecca in the year 643 H. (1245–46 A.D.); this is said to have happened in the year 443 H. (1051–52 A.D.). The Shaikh of the Holy Place (al-Ḥaram), al-ʿAfīf Manṣūr ibn Ṣaʿah al-Baghdādī had nothing to use for a cover for it, so he borrowed three hundred dinars and brought white cloth with it, which he then dyed black and fastened the old ṭirāz-border to it.

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[1] The text of Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iḳd al-Farīd,* has instead of d̲j̲āmāt, "cups," the word dārāt, "circles," which is probably the better reading.

Another of those who covered it was Rāmusht, the governor of al-Ribāṭ in Mecca in the year 532 H. (1137–38 A.D.). He covered it with striped cloths (ḥibara) and other materials. According to Ibn al-Athīr, its covering cost 18,000 Egyptian dinars, but others say 4,000.[2]

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[2] Al-Faʾsī, an extract in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1857–61), II, 54. For this author see C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur* (Weimar–Berlin, 1898–1902) II, 172. For an Ali-ide Kaaba-covering of the year 200 H. (815 A.D.), see Azraḳī in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka,* II, 183. See also Ibn Djubair, *The Travels of Ibn Djubair,* ed. W. Wright and M. J. de Goeje, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1907) V, 83, 95, 127; J. von Karabaček, *Die persische Nadelmalerei Susandschird* (Leipzig, 1881). For an article on the manufacture of the kiswa or Kaaba-covering, see É. Combe, "Notes d'archéologie musulmane," *Bull. de l'Inst. Franç. d'Archéol. or. du Caire* XVII (1920), 191–206.

APPENDIX III: INDIAN, CHINESE, AND OTHER INFLUENCES

THE TEXTILE TRADE OF INDIA WITH MUSLIM countries was at all times considerable, but it does not come within the scope of this work to deal with Indo-Muslim relations in any detail.

The export of Indian stuffs to Persia, etc., was so much of a commonplace that the Persian poet Minūčihrī can talk of "a camel of Multan laden with stuffs for Mecca."[1] Chau Ju-kua, the Chinese expert on the Arab-China trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries tells us concerning Gujurat: "The native products comprise great quantities of indigo, myrolobans, and foreign cotton stuffs of every color. Every year these goods are transported to the Ta-Shï (Arab or Persian) countries for sale."[2] Marco Polo, too, describes their "cotton-trees" and embroidered-leather work.[3] Ibn Ḥawḳal, the anonymous *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* and Idrīsī, all describe the chief port of the northwest of India, Daibul,[4] a place now no longer in existence, near one of the mouths of the Indus.[5] Abu' l-Fidā even attributes a Daibulī stuff (matāʿ) to it.[6] The same author, on the authority of Bīrūnī mentions a stuff Tānashī [7] which came from Tāna, near Bombay; both buckram and cotton are noticed by Marco Polo [8] there.

Both Nuwairī [9] and Marco Polo [10] talk of the cotton stuffs of Kanbāya (Cambay). We also read of an embassy to the king of Ceylon, including negotiations about trade in the usual things such as brazil-wood (baḳḳam), stuffs (ḳumāsh), and cloth (bazz) and jacinth (yāḳūt).[11] With regard to the Sea of

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[1] Minūčihrī, *Menoutchehri, poète persan du xi-ième siècle de notre ère,* ed. and trans. by A. de B. Kazimirski (Paris, 1886), trans., p. 249.

[2] Chau Ju-kua, *Chu-fan-chih, on the Arab and Chinese Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries,* trans. by F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill (St. Petersburg, 1911), I, 92.

[3] H. Yule, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the Venetian* (London, 1871), II, 383.

[4] Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Opus Geographicum,* ed. J. H. Kramers (2d ed., Leyden, 1938–39), p. 50. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* trans. by V. Minorsky, Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1937), n.s., XI, 123. Idrīsī, *Géographie,* trans. by P. A. Jaubert (Paris, 1836–40), I, 161.

[5] See J. Horovitz "Daibul," *Encyl. Islām* (Leyden, 1913–38), I, 896.

[6] Abu 'l-Fidāʾ, *Taḳwīm al-Buldān,* ed. T. Reinaud and M. de Slane (Paris, 1840), p. 349, trans. (Paris, 1847–83), II, 111.

[7] *Ibid.,* text, p. 359, trans., II, 118.

[8] Yule, *op. cit.,* II, 385.

[9] Nuwairī, *Nihāyat al-Arab fī Funūn al-Adab* (Cairo, 1923–37), I, 237. A chapter here is devoted to India.

[10] Yule, *op. cit.,* II, 388–89.

[11] Maḳrīzī, *Histoire des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte,* by M. Quatremère (Paris, 1837–42), II, I, 176.

Harkand (the Gulf of Bengal), Nuwairī informs us: "There are many islands in it. The inhabitants are the most skilled of people in weaving. They weave a shirt (ḳamīṣ) with its two sleeves and seams all in one piece."[12] There are several cities mentioned in India by the *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam* generally for their velvets.[13] Ibn Baṭūṭa[14] tells of the garments which were called Sẖāliyāt.[15]

More general accounts of the merchandise of India are given by various authors. Ibn Kẖurdādbih says: "From India are derived the garments made of grass (ḥasẖīsẖ), and cotton garments with a velvety pile (mukẖmal."[16] The grass-woven stuffs were found in other parts of the Islamic world also.[17] Of Sind, Maḳdisī says: "In the whole province carpets (busuṭ) and that type of article are made, resembling those made in Kuhistan of Khurasan. Many coconuts and lovely garments are brought from it, and from Manṣūra the Kanbātī shoes."[18]

The *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif* adds:

> The land of India is the country which possesses most rare products which are found there alone. Among those are the elephant, the hippotamus, the panther (babr), the peacock, the parrot, the turkey, and the birds called b nā k r k r, and sẖarak (nightingale), the red jacinth, white sandalwood, ivory, aloes, tutty, cloves, hyacinth, nutmeg, and velvet garments (tẖiyāb mukẖmala), etc. Thus it possesses more special products than Rūm which is only reckoned to have brocade (dībādj), soap, terra sigillata (ṭīn makẖtūm), and sundus-brocade which is called buzyūn, and various different kinds of garments."[19]

Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī gives Manṣūra, Multan, Lahore, Sulṭānīya, Pesẖawar, Malikfūr, Ḳuṣdār, Nahrawāla, and Ḳuss as producing great quantities of stuffs for clothes.[20] Nuwairī[21] mentions in his list of the products of the country "velvet garments" (tẖiyāb mukẖmala), muslin (lānis[22]), and stuffs (ḳumāsẖ).

CHINA

The importation of Chinese silks into Islamic countries was continuous and the authors frequently mention "Chinese silk" (ḥarīr Ṣīnī). While it seems unlikely to me that much chinaware would be brought to Muslim countries by land, owing to the difficulties of transport through Central Asia, the silk certainly did come by that route, as well as by sea, to Baghdad. Many of the stuffs, however, which were called "Chinese silks" came from the neighboring countries and not from China proper. Tibet and Turkestan were sources of such a supply, especially the latter, which was probably less desiccated than today, according to Sir Aurel Stein.

Some records of the Chinese trade with Turkestan and North Persia are to be found in Chavannes' *Documents*.[23] In 719 A.D. the king of Bokhara sent an embassay to the king of China asking for help against the invading Arabs[24] sending as presents two mules of Persia, an embroidered cloth of Fu-lin (Byzantium[25]), thirty pounds of perfume etc. His wife sent two large cloths of "Tcho-Pi," and an embroidered cloth which she gave to the empress. In return he asked for saddles, bridles, tunics, belts, and garments for his wife, the K͟hātūn. According to another passage the king sent his eldest son A-si-lan (Arslān) on this mission, which was another form of trading mission to China.

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[12] Nuwairī, *op. cit.,* I, 241.

[13] *Ḥudūd al-'Ālam, op. cit.,* pp. 89, 90.

[14] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah,* ed. and trans. by C. Defrémery and B. R. Sanguinetti (Paris, 1853–59), IV, 108.

[15] Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj al-Dhahab, Les Prairies d'or,* ed. and trans. by C. A. C. Barbier de Meynard and A. J. B. Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1861–77), I, 385, and Ibn Ḥawḳal, *Viae et regna . . ., Descriptio ditionis moslemicae,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1873), II, 228, and H. Yule, *op. cit.,* II, 379.

[16] Ibn Kẖurdādbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1889), VI, 51.

[17] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* I, 70.

[18] Makdisī (Muḳaddasī), *Descriptio imperii Moslemici,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1876, 2d ed., 1906), III, 481.

[19] Tẖa'ālibī, *Laṭā'if al-Ma'ārif,* ed. P. de Jong (Leyden, 1876), p. 125.

[20] Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī (Ḥamd-Allāh Mustawfī Ḳazwīnī), *The Geographical Part of the Nuzhat al-Qulūb,* trans. by G. le Strange, Gibb Mem. Ser. (Leyden-London, 1919), XXIII, II, 252.

[21] Nuwairī, *op. cit.,* I, 366.

[22] See Maḳrīzī, *op. cit.,* II, II, 77, and *ibid., Kẖiṭaṭ* (Bulaq, 1270 H. [1853 A.D.]), II, 227.

[23] E. Chavannes, "Documents sur les Tou-kiue

A few scattered notes—they cannot claim to be more—will be given on the imports of silks from China, for the Arab and Persian writers were usually splendidly vague about the countries east of Transoxiania. Mas'ūdī tells us how the K͟hāḳān of the Turks gave Kisrā Anūs͟hirwān "a robe of Chinese silk, decorated with gold (ḥarīr 'asd͟jadī) on which there was the picture of a king sitting in his palace (aiwān) with his regalia (ḥulya), and his crown. At his side were slaves with fans in their hands. The picture was woven (mansūd͟j) with gold. The background (arḍ) of the robe was lapis-lazuli (lāzward)."[26] From this description the silk in question was of a Sasanian pattern rather than Chinese.

In the second century of the Hijra, D͟jāḥiẓ[27] tells us that there came "from China (Ṣīn) figured cloth (firind), silk (ḥarīr), chinaware (g͟haḍā'ir), paper (kāg͟hid) and inks (midād[28]), peacocks, steeds, mules, saddles and felts." The felts undoubtedly came from the Turkish lands where they were the product par excellence. T͟ha'ālibī[29] is probably copying D͟jāḥiẓ when he tells us that "they have figured cloth (firind), and painted silk (ḥārīr madhūn[30]) on which figures are displayed called kamk͟hā. They have waxed (mus͟hamma') waterproof garments which do not get wet in spite of much rain. They have also the coarse napkins (manādil al-g͟hamar) which, when dirty are thrown into the fire, and become clean and do not burn." He mentions their celebrated felts.

Several cities and islands in the east and in China exporting these silks are mentioned by Idrīsī[31] and Ibn Baṭūṭa also mentions the stuffs of Thsiuan-tchou-fou (Arabic Zaitūn), stating that: "The kamk͟hā and satin (aṭlas) is made there which is better than that of the other towns, and which is called after its name. They are better than the stuffs of K͟hansā and

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(Turcs) occidentaux," *Academia Scientiarium Imperialis* (St. Petersburg, 1903), VI, 203 and 139. For Chinese sources on western cloth, citing material of a philological nature, see B. Laufer, *Sino-Iranica,* Field Museum of Natural History, Publ. 201 (Chicago, 1919), p. 488 ff., where dībād͟j and siklāṭūn are mentioned.

[24] For the history of this area see H. A. R. Gibb, *The Arab Conquest in Central Asia* (London, 1923).

[25] *Idem,* "Chinese Records of the Arabs in Cen-Central Asia," *Bull. School of Oriental Studies* (London, 1921–3), II, 613–22. In "Documents" Chavannes actually identifies Fu-lin with Syria, but he later again returned to the identification with Byzantium. Cf. H. H. Schaeder, "Iranica," *Abhandl. d. Gesellsch. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen, Phil.-Hist. Kl.,* 3. Folge, Nr. 10 (Berlin, 1934), 24 ff.

[26] Mas'ūdī, *op. cit.,* II, 201.

[27] D͟jāḥiẓ, "Al-Tabaṣṣur bi 'l-Tid͟jāra," ed. Ḥasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, *Rev. de l'Acad. Arabe de Damas, XII* (1351 H. [1932 A.D.]), 341. Besides the Chinese silks mentioned incidentally in the previous chapters of this book, see Sechster Band des *Kitâb Bagdâd von Aḥmad ibn abî Ṭâhir Ṭaifûr,* ed. by H. Keller (Leipzig-Basle 1908), p. 272.

[28] The ink mentioned by D͟jāḥiẓ is very likely Chinese ink in blocks with a decorated surface. See Wang Chi-Chen, "Notes on Chinese Ink," *Metropolitan Museum Studies* (New York, 1930–31), III, 144–33.

[29] T͟ha'ālibī, *op. cit.,* p. 127.

[30] Reading madhūn for madfūn, but compare the parallel passage in T͟ha'ālibī's *T͟himār al-Ḳulūb* (Cairo, 1326 H. [1908 A.D.]).

[31] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* I, 69, 84, 193, 194.

K͟hānbālik."[32] Marco Polo talks of the nasich and naques of Cathay.[33]

The Muslim attitude toward China has been ably summed up by Schefer:[34]

> Tous les écrivains orientaux qui se sont occupés de la Chine, sont unanimes à vanter l'habileté des Chinois dans toutes les industries, et surtout dans la peinture, la sculpture, et la fabrication des étoffes les plus riches et les plus fines.
>
> Les rapports commerciaux ne furent interrompus ni pendant les troubles qui désolèrent la Chine, ni pendant les guerres qui ensanglantèrent l'Asie centrale à l'époque de la chute de la dynastie des Sāmānides. On voit, en effet, mentionés dans les anciennes relations les tissus délicats, les ouvrages en ivoire, et les curiosités de la Chine qui étaient importés dans le K͟hurāsān.

He quotes the *D͟jāmiʿ al-Ḥikāyāt* to say that "On trouve chez eux toutes sortes d'étoffes dont quelques-unes sont apportés dans le K͟hurāsān, avec des merveilleuses curiosités."

TURKESTAN

The Arab and Persian authors sometimes talk of the products of this area imported from early times. Yaʿḳūbī remarks that "the Turks are the most skilled people in the manufacture of felts (lubūd) because that is what they wear."[35] Speaking of the Khazar country, Iṣṭak͟hrī adds:[36] "Nothing is brought to it which is imported to all provinces apart from furs.[37] As for the quicksilver, honey, wax, silk (k͟hazz) and skins (wabar), they are imported there. The clothes of the Khazars and the neighboring lands consist of tunics (ḳurṭaḳ) and cloaks (ḳabā'), for they possess no clothing (of their own) which is only brought to them from the districts of D͟jurd͟jān, Ṭabaristān, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Rūm." Al-Nasawī[38] enumerates such products of the Turks as ingots of precious metals, rhinoceros horns (k͟hutū[39]), musk, jasper (yas͟hab), stuffs called Ṭ rḳuwā made with the wool of white camels, each piece being worth fifty dinars or more.

Of Kashghar, a Chinese traveler of 629 A.D. informs us: "Its manufactures are a fine kind of twill haircloth and carpets of a fine texture, and skilfully woven."[40] Marco Polo, centuries later, remarks on its cotton, and K͟hutan had much cotton flax and hemp.[41] The manufactures of the latter city according to our Chinese traveler were "carpets, hair-cloth of a fine quality, and fine woven silk fabrics."[42] Nars͟hak͟hī remarks that "there is a great trade in K͟hutan in ibrīsm-silk and muslin (kirbās)."[43]

TIBET

According to the *Encyclopædia of Islām*, by the term Tibet, the Arab authors usually meant Little Tibet or Baltistān. Occasionally we hear of articles of merchandise coming from this country in such works as the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam,* etc., notably musk. Idrīsī states that: "It has relations with Ferghana and Buttam and the subjects of the K͟hāḳān. . . . They make a great number of objects there and export robes, the stuffs of which the tissue is thick, coarse and lasting. Each of these robes costs a considerable sum, for its silk is of a red color." [44]

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[32] Ibn Baṭūṭa, *op. cit.*, IV, 269.

[33] Yule, *op. cit.*, I. 276.

[34] C. Schefer, "Notice sur les relations des peuples musulmans avec les Chinois depuis l'extension de l'islamisme jusqu'à la fin du XV siècle," *P.E.L.O.V.*, *Centenaire de l'école des langues orientales vivantes, 1795–1895* (Paris, 1895), p. 8.

[35] Yaʿḳūbī, *Kitāb al-Boldān*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), VII, 295.

[36] Iṣṭak͟hrī, *Viae regnorum . . .*, ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1870), I, 223.

[37] Reading فرو. Cf. Yāḳūt, *Muʿd͟jam al-Buldān, Geographisches Wörterbuch*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–73), II, 438.

[38] Muhammad al-Nasawī, *Histoire du Sultan Djelal ed-Din Mankobirti*, ed. and trans. by O. Houdas, *Publ. de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes* (=*P.E.L.O.V.*), III, IX, text, p. 33, X, trans., p. 57.

[39] This seems to apply here to Mammoth ivory from Siberia, but Muslim authors are indefinite as to the precise nature of this substance.

[40] Hiuen Tsiang, *Si-Yu-Ki, Buddhist Records of the Western World*, trans. by S. Beal (London, 1884), I, 306.

[41] Yule, *op. cit.*, I, 188, 196.

[42] Hiuen Tsiang, *op. cit.*, I, 309.

[43] Nars͟hak͟hī, *Tārīk͟h-i-Buk͟hārā, Description topographique et historique de Boukhara*, ed. C. Schefer, *P.E.L.O.V.* (Paris 1892), III, XIII, p. 269.

WESTERN INFLUENCES

Byzantine and European stuffs penetrated into Russia, and thus by devious routes to the more central parts of Asia, and perhaps even to China. Though it is not intended to examine this trade, the following passage from G͟harnāṭī's *Tuḥfat al-Albāb* may prove of interest. He talks of the Nāmus͟h (Austrians or Germans) saying:

> Linen cloth (t͟hiyāb al-kattān), the like of which is not found in the world is made in their country, a single piece (t͟hawb) being a hundred d͟hirāʿ or more. The beginning, end and middle (of the cloth) are the same without a single thread differing. They are taken to the Slav lands, and called Rūmī linen. The Russians live in the Slav country. In Rūmīya (Rome ?) colored woollen garments, better than the Rūmī brocade, are made. A d͟hirāʿ is worth a dinar there. In spite of their smoothness and softness, rain does not penetrate them, and their lovely color of a blood-red is dyed with ḳirmiz (qermes). There is a creature which descends from the sky at a certain time in Autumn upon the oak-tree like the red evil-smelling ant which one sees in houses, red and small like the seed of the Syrian carob, with an unpleasant odor like the ḳirmiz. This latter is also red like the ant, and wool and ibrīsm-silk are dyed with it, but not cotton or linen, nor anything of the vegetable kind, but only what is connected with animals.[45]

This passage seems obscure:

Yāḳūt [46] tells us that the Russians (Rūs) covered a dead chieftain with cushions (muḍarrabāt) of Rūmī brocade and pillows (misnad) of the same material.[47]

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[44] Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* I, 493. Cf. Ibn Rusta, *Kitāb al-Aʿlāḳ al-Nafīsa,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1892), III, 142 ff., and Idrīsī, *op. cit.,* II, 215.

[45] "Tuḥfat al-Albāb de Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī al-G͟harnāṭī," ed. and (partially) trans. by G. Ferrand, *Journ. Asiatique,* CCVII (1925), 198.

[46] Yāḳūt, *op. cit.,* II, 837.

[47] For the products of Turkestan see W. Barthold, *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion,* Gibb Mem. Ser. (London, 1928), n.s., V, 283–84.

APPENDIX IV: EARLY TRADE ROUTES

THE IMPORTANCE OF RAYY AS A COMMERCIAL center was so great that Ibn al-Faḳīh,[1] quoting an earlier author, Muhammad ibn Isḥāḳ, devotes a long passage to describing the various routes of merchants, trading with it:

> Rayy has a good climate, spendid buildings; it is an entry for merchants, and a resort of the opulent. It is the bride of the world, the highway of the earth, and the intermediary for Khurasan, D͟jurd͟jān, Iraq, and Ṭabaristān. To it come the wares (tid͟jārāt) of Armenia, Azerbaijan, Khurasan, the Khazars, and the land of Burd͟jān, because the sea-traders travel from East to West, and from West to East, bearing brocade and fine k͟hazz-silk from Firand͟ja (France or the Franks) to al-Faramā. They go to sea at Ḳulzum (on the Red Sea) and take all this to China (Ṣīn), bringing cinnamon, swallow-wort (māmīrān), and all Chinese ware to Ḳulzum, then they make for al-Faramā. They are Jewish merchants called Rāhdānīya (Guides, or "those skilled in the ways"), speaking Persian, Greek (Rūmī), Arabic, and Frankish. They come forth from al-Faramā and sell the musk, aloes-wood and all the goods of the Franks they have with them. Then they go to Antioch, thence to Baghdad, then Ubulla.
>
> As for the traders of the Slavs (Ṣaḳāliba), they take fox and beaver skins from the most distant Slav territory and come to the Roman Sea and the king of Byzantium (Rūm) imposes the duty of ten per

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[1] Ibn al-Faḳīh, *Compendium libri Kitāb al-Boldān,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum* (=*B.G.A.*) (Leyden, 1885), V, 270–71.

cent on them. Then they go by sea to Samkūsh of the Jews.[2] Then they return to the Slavs or else they go from the Slav Sea in the river which is called Nahr al-Ṣaḳāliba (the Don) until they come to Khalīdj al-Khazar (Read Khamlīdj) where the king of the Khazars imposes a duty of ten per cent on them. Then they go to the Sea of Khurasan (The Caspian). Sometimes they land at Djurdjān and sell all they have with them, so that all of it comes to Rayy.

A fuller version of this, obviously using the same source even though no acknowledgment is made, in the customary fashion of Arab authors, is to be found in Ibn Khurdādbih:[3]

The Route of the Jewish Rāhdānīya Merchants

They speak Arabic, Persian, Greek (Rūmīya), Frankish, Spanish, and Slav. They journey from East to West, and from West to East by land and sea, importing from the West slaves, girls and boys, brocade, beaver skins, furs, sables (sammūr), and swords. They journey from France (Firandja) in the Western Sea and come out at al-Faramā, carrying their wares on the backs of animals to Ḳulzum, a distance of twenty-five parasangs. Then they travel on the Eastern Sea from Ḳulzum to al-Djār and Djudda. Afterwards they proceed to Sind, Hind and China. From China they bring musk, aloeswood, camphor, cinnamon, and other kinds of things brought from those countries, travelling until they return to Ḳulzum, then they carry it over to al-Faramā. After this they put to sea in the Western Sea, sometimes turning to Constantinople with their wares so as to sell them in Byzantium (Rūm); sometimes they travel with them to the kingdom of France (Firandja) and sell them there. If they wish they take their wares from France on the Western Sea and disembark at Antioch, travelling by land for three stages to al-Djabiya.[4] After this they travel on the Euphrates to Baghdad, then on the Tigris to Ubulla, from Ubulla to Oman, Sind, Hind, and China in succession.

The Route of the Traders of the Rūs

They are a branch of the Slavs, and they carry beaver and black fox-skins, and swords from the furthest Slav territory to the Roman Sea where the king of Byzantium (Rūm) imposes a duty of ten per cent upon them. If they travel on Tanais (the Don) the river of the Slavs, they pass Khamlīdj, the town of the Khazars, and their ruler imposes a tax of ten per cent on them. Then they journey to the Sea of Djurdjān (The Caspian), disembarking on whichever part of its coasts they wish, the coast of this sea being five hundred parasangs. Sometimes they take their wares from Djurdjān by camel-transport to Baghdad. The Slav servants interpret for them and pretend to be Christians, and they pay the poll-tax.

THEIR ROUTE BY LAND

The outward-bound voyager goes from Spain or from France, crossing to al-Sūs al-Aḳṣā (in the Maghreb), then travels to Tandja (Tangier), then Ifrīḳiya (Ḳairawān), then Egypt, Ramle, Damascus, Kufa, Baghdad, Basra, Ahwāz, Fars, Kerman, Sind, Hind, and then to China.

Sometimes they take the way behind Byzantium (Rūm) into the Slav country, then to Khamlīdj, the capital of the Khazars. Then they travel to the Sea of Djurdjān, then to Balkh and Transoxiana, and then to Wurut (Yurt) of the Tughuzghuz, then to China.

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[2] de Goeje reads here "Samkaras" (?) سمكرس, the Hebrew סמכרץ.

[3] Ibn Khurdādbih, *Kitāb al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik,* ed. M. J. de Goeje, *B.G.A.* (Leyden, 1889), VI, text, p. 133 ff., trans., p. 114 ff.

[4] A word of uncertain reading.

INDICES TO “MATERIAL FOR A HISTORY OF ISLAMIC TEXTILES UP TO THE MONGOL CONQUEST,” BY R. B. SERJEANT

1. Arabic and Persian terms not relating to textiles.
2. Place names.
3. Technical terms.

1. ARABIC AND PERSIAN TERMS NOT RELATING TO TEXTILES

Aʿādjim (Persians), 172.
Abū Farāsh (name of bird), 212.
Adab, 2.
adam (leatherware), 135.
Ādamīyūn (human beings), embroidered on cloth, 160.
ʿĀdite, of mail-coats (dir), 124.
ʿādj (ivory), 37.
aḥkam (stronger), 50.
aiwān (palace), 218.
al-Akāsira, 11.
ʿaḳīḳ (chalcedonv), 213.
ʿalāmāt (signs), 7.
al-ʿamal al-sharīf, 40.
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Arandadj (black skin), 105.
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asākifa (shoemakers), 20, 91.
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ʿasīr (olive oil), 188.
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- dhāl, 76.
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- djawharīya (quality), 84.
- djawharīyūn (jewelers), 28.
- djazʿ (onyx), 220.
- djīm, 100.
- djughrāfīya, 159.
- djūr (rosewater), 37.
- dhirāʿ (a cloth measure, about one cubit in length), 81, 84, 93, 113, 131, 146, 155, 160, 168, 200, 201, 220.
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